The Communist

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ON THE EVE OF THE INVASION OF EUROPE

M. GALAKTIONOV

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POST-WAR ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

GILBERT GREEN

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THE COMMUNIST VANGUARD

V. J. JEROME

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THE OHIO MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN

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THE COMMUNIST

A MAGAZINE OF THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF MARXISM-LENINISM

EDITOR: EARL BROWDER

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ON THE EVE OF THE INVASION OF EUROPE: GREATER VIGILANCE AGAINST VACILLATORS AND ENEMIES OF TEHERAN

BY MAJOR-GENERAL M. GALAKTIONOV

[*We are on the eve of the invasion of Europe. The great decision of Teheran for launching the Western Front is soon to be realized. The crashing advances of the Red Army have brought about the most favorable conditions for the assault from the West upon the Hitler-fortress. The mighty Anglo-American air assaults, the concentration of Anglo-American troops in England, and the recent declarations of Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt — all point to the imminence of the Second Front.*

[*At the same time, precisely as the day of the invasion nears, the diehard opponents of coalition warfare and the cautious calculators are rearing their heads in a last desperate effort to obstruct and weaken the power of the Second Front, to cause disunity in the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition. The American people, especially labor, are called upon to redouble all efforts for unity behind the Commander-in-Chief, for the achievement of new records in war production, and, at the same time, for greater vigilance against the pro-fascist enemies of national and United Nations unity and coalition warfare.*

[*In this connection, the following article, which appeared in the Soviet journal "War and the Working Class," issue No. 6, 1944, performs a useful service in unmasking the Hitlerite outpost in our midst, who, while unable to prevent the opening of the Western Front, hope by their insidious policy of obstruction and disunity to bring about a long war of attrition—The Editors.*]

EVERY day brings nearer the date fixed by the Teheran Conference for the realization of active, joint operations of the Allied armies. In connection with the approaching date of the invasion, there is increasingly growing opposition—now open, now thinly disguised—to the invasion of Europe on the part of elements hostile to the Allied cause in Great Britain and the U.S.A.

Such acts present sharp contrast with the statements of responsible statesmen in Britain and America, and also with the facts confirming the energetic preparations of our

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Allies for active operations on the continent.

The Teheran decisions speak with full clarity of the crushing blows to be dealt Germany by the Allies from the east, west and south. Consequently, the invasion of western Europe is supposed to be such ruthless, crushing blows from the west. Delivered with all strength, it must, together with simultaneous blows from the east and south, lead to the speedy defeat of Germany.

Of course, such a problem cannot be solved without corresponding strain and effort. But raising this problem is fully realistic: from the point of view of her military situation, Germany is now near catastrophe, while our Allies have all the necessary forces and means for striking the enemy sweeping and crushing blows.

Nevertheless, certain sections of the Anglo-American press are energetically advocating a different conception, according to which the invasion of Europe will merely form a prologue to prolong the war for the exhaustion of Germany.

Thus, the London *Observer* correspondent asserts that the forthcoming campaign will be aimed at the exhaustion of the enemy reserves, and is to be accomplished by a gradual extension of the front.

Even certain official persons, contrary to the spirit of the Teheran decisions, are trying beforehand to depict the invasion of Europe as prolonged operations of a protracted war. In his Scranton speech on March 1st, the British Ambassador to the U.S.A., Halifax, speaking of the difficulties involved in the forthcoming invasion of Europe, spared no somber colors to represent the military operations in western Europe to his American audience as "Quite a prolonged, protracted matter."

The same idea is actually pursued by the American journal the *United States News*. Curiously enough, the American journal cannot but recognize that precisely the plans of the Hitlerite Command are now aimed at protracting the operations. Germany hopes that the invasion of the European continent will follow a pattern of a prolonged war of attrition. Yet this American journal considers that the invasion of Europe will be "a lengthy process."

The strategy of exhaustion, reflected in such pictures of the forthcoming invasion of western Europe by our allies, may be called the strategy of small-scale action. Incidentally, it is quite well-known from the experience of the First World War, when some near-sighted people hoped to win victory over Germany by biding time and digging in.

It is a fact that victory was won not just by passive waiting. Germany was exhausted in the hard battles forced upon her by the active Allied offensive operations, and was defeated in 1918 as a result of a series of crushing blows by the Allies on the western Balkan and Italian fronts, and by the young Red Army from the east.

The Second World War began with the French Army waiting behind the Maginot fortifications, whereas Hitler Germany tested the use of her new, mechanized army

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on the field of battle against weak Poland.

In the summer of 1940, Allied strategy, based on blockade and the exhaustion of the Germans in positional warfare, was scattered to dust. The methods of the exhaustion strategy not only did not lead to the actual weakening of Germany, but, on the contrary, did not prevent her from strengthening.

The real weakening of Germany began only in the battles on the Soviet-German front.

As a result of the war against the Soviet Union, Germany, now exhausted of her manpower reserves and her material resources, has reached a state of extreme tension. Hitherto, characteristic of the war against Germany on the European continent was the fact that active large-scale operations were conducted only on the Soviet-German front.

The absence of a second front in Europe reflected the fact that Great Britain and the U.S.A. adhered in the war with Germany to a waiting strategy of exhaustion. During the early period of Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, this was connected with the Allied need for time to deploy their armed forces.

But how can advocacy of a waiting strategy of exhaustion by certain circles and organs of the press in Britain and America be explained at the present, when on the threshold of the invasion of western Europe these circles recommend the continued use of the methods of a prolonged war of exhaustion?

* * *

Let us briefly review these methods. To begin with, the blockade of Germany: During the First World War, its effectiveness was manifested chiefly in the disastrous aggravation of the food situation in Germany, and to a lesser degree, the difficulties to supply industry with certain raw materials and products.

To the very end of the war, however, German war industry fully met the demands of the front for armaments, except tanks and munitions.

In the conditions of the present war, the blockade of Germany is far from complete. In view of this, the Germans were able in the present war to cope with economic difficulties and maintain war production on a far higher level than in the last war.

The duration of the Second World War, which has already been in progress for four and a half years, reveals with full clarity that to achieve victory over Germany—even if the question is viewed merely from a point of view of the strategy of exhaustion—she must be deprived of the districts from which she is drawing her material resources, namely by active offensive operations which are necessary.

In the present condition, the war of exhaustion has acquired a new powerful weapon—aviation. We by no means intend to underrate the tremendous importance of this weapon; nevertheless, experience in air war has exhaustively proved that long-range bomber raids alone, unaccompanied by ground operations, constitute a means of prolonged war. Years of severe air war are required to achieve substantial results in the

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sense of exhaustion against such an adversary as Germany.

The quite intensive air raids on Germany in recent months, with their doubtlessly big importance for the general course of the war, nevertheless did not bring about a considerable reduction of Germany's war production.

Let's pass now to the third element of the military operations of our allies against the common enemy—the landing operations in Italy. Already nine months have passed since the first landing in Sicily, and some conclusions may be drawn about the character of these operations.

Their restricted scope is now completely obvious. The operations in Italy are the best illustration of the contention that the strategy of exhaustion cannot lead to a serious weakening of the enemy, which is attainable only as a result of active offensive operations and decisive battles.

The operations in Italy have hitherto been restricted to the limits of small-scale strategy, which does not lead to decisive results and prolongs the war.

The conception of a second front in Europe is associated in the whole world with a change to decisive operations. The difficulty of the operations involved in the invasion of Europe must not, of course, be underestimated.

One of the difficulties is rooted in the very nature of landing operations, every one of which begins with landing small forces which renders easier the defender's task. Nevertheless, this stage of the struggle obviously does not represent hardships for the Allies, for the experience of landing operations has shown that, with domination on the sea and in the air, precisely the initial stage of the landing is accomplished with the greatest success.

The shortcomings of the above-mentioned operations are due to other things; to begin with, in that their scope is very restricted, whereas our allies have vast armies at their disposal, fully equipped with modern arms.

The second shortcoming is the slow pace of the development of the operations and irresolute action. Lastly, and most important: To lend the operations a decisive character, they must be developed in directions vitally important for Germany.

On the Italian theater, the German Command was able to confine itself to defense with the object of gaining time, precisely because here they could afford to sacrifice a part of the territory without substantial injury to the conduct of the war as a whole.

If the invasion of Europe were to resolve into a number of local operations on the Italian model, Germany would receive the possibility of defense with a restricted number of divisions, retaining her main forces on the Soviet-German front. And only an invasion on a wide front in the most vital directions, invasion with big forces and decisive aims, would correspond to the demands of Allied strategy, and wrest from Germany the principal means of her strategy for the protraction of the war.

Crushing blows with powerful, Allied forces from the east, west and

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south must become the shortest, quickest way to the final defeat of Germany with the least losses.

It would be extremely naive to maintain that victory over Germany is attainable without losses and sacrifices. Nevertheless, the prolongation of the war will demand incomparably greater losses and expenditures. The present Allied methods of struggle with Germany, while not leading to decisive results, are nevertheless involving serious losses.

This relates in particular to air war. The defenders of half-hearted, irresolute methods in the conduct of the war against Germany, in the final analysis, are bringing grist to the mill of the open opponents of the second front.

The exaggeration of the difficulties and losses during the period of the invasion serves these circles with additional argument in favor of its further delay. The British *Daily Mail* recently published an article by its Stockholm correspondent, Farr, wherein he clearly paints an exaggerated picture of Germany's power of resistance and the strength of German fortifications.

"Germany," the article says, "will have time for repulsing our invasion of western Europe, and for regrouping the German forces for the final clash in the east.

"Perhaps this is the most fantastic plan of defense in history, but it may prove successful, if we invade prematurely or without adequately trained troops."

As if there were no brilliant Red Army operations which have brought Hitler Germany to the brink of disaster! As if there are not and were not brilliant Red Army offensives which but very recently breached the strongest German defense at Leningrad! Manipulating with this Hitlerite fantasy, the author advocates delay of the invasion. He is helping the open opponents of the second front, and the latter, let us say, are outrightly helping Germany in realizing her strategic plan for the prolongation of the war.

Firm implementation of the Teheran decisions about simultaneous, crushing Allied blows in the directions vital for the enemy is the only way to the speedy, final rout of Hitler Germany.

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POST-WAR ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

BY GILBERT GREEN

IN A recent address, Leo T. Crowley, head of the Foreign Economic Administration, emphasized that all our thinking today must be based upon the following major objectives:

"1. To win the war in the quickest and most effective way with the least cost in lives and suffering; 2. To work out a solid foundation for lasting peace; 3. To provide full production and full employment in the peace to come for our own people and to join with like-minded peoples everywhere in building a sound economic foundation for a peaceful and prosperous world." *

There can be no doubt but that these three objectives are those uppermost in the minds and closest to the hearts of the American people. Likewise, each of these flows from, is dependent upon, and in turn influences the others. Without achieving objective Number 1—victory in the war, it is of course utterly impossible to obtain either a lasting peace or a prosperous world. But what may not appear so obvious and yet true, is that to the extent to which the people have confidence in their ability to achieve objectives Numbers 2 and 3, to that degree will it be easier to muster their all-out support for the winning of the war "in the quickest and most effective way." And conversely, the greater the fear and skepticism as to the post-war perspective, the greater become the obstacles and obstructions to the most rapid winning of the war.

The defeatists understand this full well. Note how Father Coughlin, clever siren of fascism that he is, conjures up blind fears of the post-war world as the means of undermining the confidence of the American people in their cause and its victory. "You've seen the best living standard in America. Now prepare for the worst," shrieks this mouthpiece of Hitler in his latest song of despair. And in another treasonable diatribe he ominously reminds his audience that "Most of you tramped the street during the depression," and holds out the dismal prospect that "The same situation will prevail again 5 minutes after the peace bells have rung."*

Were we to believe a durable peace impossible and economic chaos inevitable in the post-war, we Communists would still give our all for victory in this war—it would still be

* Speech delivered to Commerce and Industry Association of New York, Jan. 17, 1944.

* *New York Post*, March 15, 1944.

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a holy war of progressive humanity, holding the dikes of democratic civilization against the on-rushing floodwaters of fascist barbarism. It would still be a just war in every sense of that word; one to defend the material and cultural values established by man over generations of toil and struggle. But under such circumstances we would hesitate—nay, desist—from raising any post-war questions at this time. For these could but lead to wide rifts and sharp clashes within the camp of national unity before the war itself has been won.

We, however, believe that a durable and lasting peace *is* possible. We believe that a relatively peaceful solution to our vexing post-war economic problems *can* be found. Therefore, Earl Browder's placing of certain positive post-war perspectives based upon the Teheran accord is not a flight into the abstract realm of the future, nor an escape from the present-day trying tasks of achieving victory. It is on the contrary one of the most important means by which to expose the Father Coughlins and their ilk, to cement national unity today, to bridge those class, sectional and partisan rifts that are arising all about us on the erroneous assumption that the time has come to square-off for the final showdown.

The Economic Foundation

Mr. Crowley, in the previously quoted paragraph, speaks of "building a sound economic foundation for a peaceful and prosperous world." He is correct. Without a sound economic foundation, or at least as reasonably sound as can be achieved under present world conditions, the whole perspective of Teheran falls by the wayside. Those critics of our party's position who say they agree with the promise of Teheran "to end the scourge and terror of war for many generations" but then go on to say that "a great deal is being read into the Teheran declaration which is not there" and more specifically that "unreliable perspectives mainly of an economic nature have been set forth," only expose their own inability to understand anything at all about the modern world and what made Teheran possible. It is an axiom of Marxism, today universally accepted, that economics and politics go hand in hand, dynamically reacting one upon the other.

President Roosevelt expressed this truth most simply in his address to the nation after his return from Teheran. Speaking of the proposed New Bill of Rights for America he made the apt observation that "unless there is security here at home there cannot be lasting peace in the world."

The Scope of the Problem

Needless to say, our post-war economic problems are not going to be simple of solution. We are not entering into a millennium. The Teheran Conference has not answered all questions nor solved all problems. It has only provided the basis for and indicated the approach to their answer and solution. Much still depends upon *when* and *how* the war is won. *Everything* depends upon the continued and ever more effective struggle of the masses in sup-

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port of the decisions and the promise of Teheran and for the firmer welding of the United States-Soviet-British coalition into an ever closer and permanent alliance.

The post-war, from an economic point of view, can be divided into three chronological, yet over-lapping periods: (1) reconversion; (2) boom; (3) post post-war. In this article we will deal in the main with the overall approach to our long-term economic problems, an approach which we must have at the outset and which must influence our policies toward the problems of reconversion as well as that of the subsequent boom period. The emphasis on the long-term aspects of the problem is not meant to deny the fact that the period of reconversion comes first in the matter of time, and that it will be an extremely difficult one, replete with pitfalls for all concerned. But precisely in order to avoid them, we must be absolutely sure of our general perspectives. *

In magnitude our post-war economic problems will be breath-taking, especially so because the war has brought about a tremendous increase in the productive capacity of the country—through both plant expansion and increased labor productivity.

The Committee for Economic Development estimates that there are at present some 62 million persons gainfully occupied in the United States including some 10 million in the armed forces. This compares with 46.6 million gainfully occupied in 1940 including some 600,000 in the armed forces.

The Department of Commerce estimates that the total number who will seek work after the war will be about 59.5 million and that a satisfactory employment goal should be some 57.5 million jobs. Observers also believe that at least 2.5 million of these will remain in the armed forces and that therefore 55 million jobs will be needed or approximately 9 million more than in 1940.

Increased productivity per man-hour has complicated the problem even further. In 1940, 46 million workers produced a gross national

* The period of reconversion will start on a large scale once the western invasion of Europe is under way, will gain momentum with the ending of European hostilities, but be cushioned by the continued warfare in the Far East.

This will be a period of considerable confusion with even a touch of panic. The degree to which this can be prevented depends greatly upon how rapidly and effectively the Baruch Report is applied; upon what the trade unions and local communities do now to meet the problems of cutbacks; and upon how well the workers are acquainted with the general perspective for the post-war and the immediate prospect of plant reconversion.

In the greatly expanded aircraft, shipbuilding and aluminum industries, the problem of reconversion will be most difficult of all. As orderly as the process of reconversion may be, there will still be a certain re-shift of population from war-time boom-towns to consumer-goods production centers. Even under the best of conditions, a few million workers will be uprooted during this period and be forced to seek employment in other industries and in other crafts. The Research Institute of America estimates that four million workers will be thrown out of work before the end of 1944, if the war in Europe draws to a rapid conclusion.

It therefore becomes of tremendous importance that the labor movement, in addition to its support for the Baruch Report, prepare to meet the problems of reconversion by advancing a number of demands that can even further cushion the shock of this period. The most obvious of these are: (1) provisions against abrupt lay-offs—at least two weeks prior notice for all workers; (2) an adequate severance pay—let this be treated by the government and employers in the same responsible fashion as is the termination of other war contracts; (3) an increase in the amount and scope of unemployment insurance benefits and their prompt application in all cases of involuntary lay-off; (4) labor-management-government cooperation to provide workers with all available information as to job prospects and reconversion plans for a given community or industry; (5) adequate labor representation upon all government bodies handling problems of reconversion.

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output of $97 billion. Department of Commerce experts estimate that 55 million employed after the war could produce goods and services amounting to more than $140 billion in terms of 1940 prices. "This means that an increase in total employment of some 20 to 25 per cent would be accomplished by a gain in the physical volume of production of about 45 per cent." *

In other words, if production after the war is no higher than in 1940 the number of unemployed "may reach the staggering total of 15 millions or more compared with the six to nine million unemployed in 1940." *

Let us look at another facet of the problem. Before the war, fiscal "experts" insisted that the country could not carry a national debt of over $40 billion. It is now estimated that the national debt at the end of this war will range from $200 billion to $300 billion! Even at low interest rates the government will have to pay as interest on the national debt alone, from $5 billion to $7 billion a year.

What this means can be graphically seen when we bear in mind that in the pre-war years the government never collected as much as $5 billion in federal taxes! "The interest on our federal debt alone," according to Emerson P. Schmidt, Economist for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, "will require 50 per cent more than that sum ($5 billion)—in addition, we will have the ordinary expenses of government, a huge standing army, a two-ocean navy and many other commitments to fulfill." The conclusion: "Unless we have extraordinary high levels of industrial activity we will not be able to carry our burdens or absorb our labor supply."*

We can agree with this conclusion of Mr. Schmidt. The problem of an increasing national debt need not prove disturbing under the conditions of political stability and "extraordinary high levels" of production. Given conditions of economic contraction, however, it can only be met by large-scale inflation—by putting government printing presses to work.

From all of the above it is quite evident that there can be no solution to America's post-war economic problems on the basis of a return to pre-war production levels. To return to these is to invite mass unemployment, internecine class warfare, and a furious scramble over world markets. These in turn would breed general world instability; increase the menace of fascist reaction in the United States; and stimulate those groupings of American capital (Hearst, du Pont), which seek to embark upon predatory adventures abroad.

There can be but one approach to America's post-war economic problems: The ways and means must be found by which to maintain relatively full employment, and if this requires production levels approximating those of wartime, then we must as a nation find the increased domestic and foreign markets to make this possible. Without this it is impos-

* *The Financial Post*, Feb. 12, 1944.

* Speech before Research Bureau for Post-war Economics, Nov. 24, 1943.

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sible to guarantee the Teheran perspective.

Earl Browder has emphasized what a stupendous task this will be, requiring a manifold increase in our foreign trade and an approximate doubling of our domestic market. To some people it may seem fantastic for Marxists to speak of such an immense expansion of the world market at this late stage of capitalist development. Those who will have the greatest difficulty in grasping this new situation are precisely those who have given least thought to the meaning and character of this global war. On our part, all our calculations as to the post-war perspectives stem from the progressive, liberating character of this war and its consequent effects on all world relations—economic and political.

The Character of the War and its Logical Consequences

Can a World War for the national liberation of peoples—of this length, intensity and scope, make its exit from the stage of history without leaving an indelible mark upon the whole future? And is it also not obvious that this mark must indicate a turning point of world history —and in a progressive direction? Was that not the natural concomitant that followed all progressive wars of the past? Our own liberating wars of 1776 and 1861 were such turning points. Would anyone say that this great war of the United Nations, the first progressive world war in history, is of lesser significance for America and the world?

Earl Browder once characterized this war as a great revolution, and that it is. Given the complete defeat of the fascist hordes, mankind will take another great leap forward in the direction of progress. This war cannot but have the effect of a great liberating wave, of a great world-wide democratic upsurge; cannot but unleash forces that will deepen democracy and in time extend it to every nook and corner of the globe.

The historic epoch of national wars, of the great bourgeois-democratic revolutions, began with our own Revolutionary War of 1776 and ended with the Franco-Prussian War of 1871. This progressive epoch ended, however, without fully completing its task. This is not alone true of the vast areas of the earth populated so densely by the colonial hundreds of millions, who have hardly been touched by capitalist economy and certainly not by democracy, but even true of the most developed capitalist countries where the bourgeois - democratic revolutions were stopped short before their completion. A case in point is the United States, where after two truly liberating wars, the bourgeois-democratic revolution still remains uncompleted (in the South).

Lenin, in his monumental writings on the bourgeois-democratic revolution and on imperialism, emphasized that the bourgeoisie as a class had no longer become able to fight consistently for the completion of its own revolution. In each capitalist country it had become terror-stricken at the growth and power of the working class, feared any further extension of democracy, and entered into unholy alliances with the unsavory remnants of the very

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class it had vanquished—the feudal landlords, thereby considerably narrowing the possibilities for the fullest expansion of its own home market.

Its need for new markets caused it to look constantly outward, in the direction of new continents and backward nations over which it could impose its own rule. In order to continue to extract super-profits from cheap colonial labor; in order to subordinate the economies of these backward regions to its own needs, imperialism joined hands with feudal and reactionary forces to keep the colonies and dependent countries in a state of permanent backwardness and submission. It sought by every means at its command to hold back the liberating influences of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. But through all this it only restricted the market possibilities of these countries as well.

The general crisis of capitalism developed precisely on this background. The geographic limits of the earth had been reached. There were no new continents or new worlds to be discovered. New markets and new sources of raw materials, even though desperately needed, could no longer be had for the mere taking. Competitors had to be outsmarted; rivals had to be beaten; wars had to be fought—and won.

Not only were there no new territories to be had except through a new world redivision, but the earth itself had shrunken for world imperialism. The Russian Revolution had removed one-sixth of the earth from the clutches of imperialist exploitation. Colonial revolutions, especially the Chinese, had further undermined the colonial monopoly of imperialism. In 1900, 56.6 per cent of Asia consisted of colonies; in 1932, but 20.6 per cent. *

The present war is itself a product of this world crisis of capitalism and is being fought over the answer to it. German fascism is out to turn back the clock of history. What do we mean by this? We mean that it seeks a "solution" to this world crisis in a consistently reactionary and barbaric fashion. It is intent upon wiping out all of the achievements of the democratic revolutions. It is out to reduce the advanced countries to the level of the backward and transform them all into agrarian hinterlands dominated and super-exploited by one imperialist state—Nazi Germany. Such an incubus upon the countries and peoples of the world would constitute literally a monster world trust having achieved complete global monopoly. This is the economic side of the Nazi theory of German superiority.

This development was also foreseen by Lenin, in his study of imperialism. As early as 1915, he wrote:

"There is no doubt that the development is going *in the direction* of a single world trust that will swallow up all enterprises and all states without exception."**

But Lenin also knew that the development in this direction "was

* *New Data on Lenin's Imperialism*, p. 299.

** From Lenin's Introduction to *Imperialism and World Economy*.

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proceeding under stress, with such tempo, with such contradiction," that it would never be attained. In this war Nazi Germany has attempted to swallow up all enterprises and all states. But this attempt at world domination will be defeated. It will be defeated because the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union are fighting for their national survival, and in that fight have formed a mighty alliance. It will be defeated because of the existence of a mighty socialist state which single-handed has stopped, driven back and routed the armies of Hitler from its soil. Of no small importance is also the tenacious and key role of China in the fight against Japan. Thus the land of socialism, the Soviet Union, and a semi-colonial country, China, will play leading roles in saving civilization from fascist enslavement. It is this which is of such profound importance for all future world development.

Having defeated the forces that seek to destroy all the achievements of mankind, even those won through the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the 19th century, the war will, among other things, undoubtedly provide a mighty impetus towards the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions. In Europe, this will find its expression in the final crushing of fascism and Prussianism; in the removal from power of all the feudal elements and reactionary monopolistic groupings who are responsible for this war. With the deepening and extension of political democracy in Europe, will also come greater economic democracy, a free and powerful labor movement, an end to all feudal forms in agriculture, and an increase in the material and cultural standards of the people. We shall witness a considerable expansion of European markets that have been stagnant for years.

Great will be the impact of this war on Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is difficult at this time to calculate the profound effect that victory over Japanese imperialism will have upon the Far East and the whole colonial and semi-colonial world—the bulk of world humanity. In the first place, a country as vast and as powerful as China, with a population of 450 million — more than all of Europe, exclusive of the U.S.S.R.—has emerged as a great nation, never again to be divided by foreign powers or to face the humiliation of extra-territoriality. China after this war must and will take the path toward industrialization.

Not only China, Korea, Formosa, but the Dutch East Indies, French Indo-China, and yes, India herself, will never be the same when this war is over. The colonial system of imperialism may still linger on for some time, but for all intent and purpose it is doomed. India may still remain within the British Empire, but one thing is certain, India cannot after this war be ruled as in the past. Either Britain will have to take cognizance of and make basic concessions to India's national aspirations, or India and Britain will separate. *

* "India is part of Asia; its future will partake of Asia's future. The war means the end of imperialism in India as well as farther east." *The United States in a New World*, Supplement on "Pacific Relations," August, 1942.

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The Expansion of World Markets in a New Way

Those who therefore can but think of post-war world trade in terms of pre-war levels, are losing sight of the war itself, its progressive world-wide character and its economic and political consequences. It is true that American exports have not totaled more than $5 billion yearly since 1920, and that in the immediate pre-war years this figure was closer to $3 billion. Yet, given stable world relations based upon the decisions of Teheran, and it is possible to think in terms that would completely dwarf pre-war figures.

There are those who, having memorized stock phrases and achieved a narrow, mechanical and one-sided concept of history, argue that it is impossible to believe that advanced countries such as America and Britain will ever permit the colonial and semi-colonial countries to enter upon the path of industrialization. But the fact remains that this question is no longer a moot one, can no longer be determined by the likes and dislikes of American and/or British monopoly capital alone.

If China makes up her mind to become industrialized (and she has), and if America and Britain object, what can they do about it? Send the marines? Of course, America and Britain can refuse to help China. If so, China will be forced to seek help elsewhere or attempt to accomplish her objective by pulling herself up by her own bootstraps. * To accomplish the latter she would be forced to establish arbitrarily high tariff walls to protect her native industry. Thus, by refusing to cooperate, American and British capital would merely resemble the man who cut off his nose to spite his face.

It is time that we learned that classes and states, like individuals, do not always do what they like. They frequently are compelled by circumstances to do what they dislike and in the course of doing it, learn to like it. The old die-hard imperialist policy toward the colonial and semi-colonial countries can no longer work. This the United States began to learn in respect to Latin America nearly a decade ago when it moved away from the bad-neighbor policy and toward a good-neighbor policy.

Furthermore, it is just not true as some people believe, that backward, undeveloped countries prove to be better markets than advanced countries. The continent of Asia (exclusive of the U.S.S.R.), has three times the population of Europe (exclusive of the U.S.S.R.). Yet Europe took 42.8 per cent of our exports in 1938 and Asia but 16.7 per cent! Australia, and the surrounding islands of Oceania with 10 million population, took approximately the same percentage of American exports (3 per cent) in pre-war years as did the whole continent of Africa with a population of 157 million! A last example: in 1938, Canada, with

* "Omitting qualifications and exceptions, China's attitude, as expressed by its leaders, is essentially this: China needs foreign money, but if foreign money means foreign control—'peaceful penetration'—China has had enough of that and would sooner do without the money."—*The United States in a New World*, Supplement on "Pacific Relations," August, 1942.

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a population of about 12 million took 15.4 per cent of our exports, while the whole continent of South America, with a population of 88 million took but 9.7 per cent!

This new understanding of world reality is being grasped by the more responsible and intelligent spokesmen of American capital. They are beginning to understand that yesterday, "The frontier seemed to be closed; on every door to a larger world hung the rusty bars of a vested and tired capitalism. . . ." But that "there can be a reopening of frontiers," and that "the post-war world will be a 'shrunken world,' but there will be room in it . . . if the U.S., with the help of its allies, decides to let it expand." *

It is expressed by Dr. J. O. Downey, of General Motor's Corporation, when he told a symposium of the National Association of Manufacturers:

"Following the restoration of world political stability, American businessmen will become interested in the long-term industrialization of the populous and raw material regions of the world, . . . The objective would be to develop an expanding and prosperous economy wherever possible. The greater our participation, the greater would be the opportunity for American manufacturers in the enhanced prosperity."**

Or, one could quote Leo T. Crowley, the Foreign Economic Administrator:

"An expanding volume of world trade offers the greatest hope for a peaceful and prosperous world. One of the surest ways to achieve the full-scale employment here at home —something that we are all seeking —is to open up world markets. This does not mean the exploitation of one country by another. The most advanced countries economically are those that trade the most. The restoration of the economy of Europe, Asia and other parts of the world after the war will offer a tremendous challenge to American production and an expanding market for American products. Industrial development and construction and reconstruction in China, Russia and in other countries will open up vast new markets. Such construction and reconstruction will help to lay the sound economic foundations for a secure peace. It will also raise the standard of living abroad and enlarge the capacity of the peoples abroad to buy what we have to sell."*

Lastly, one could refer to the present policy of the U.S. Government toward Mexico, even though it is not applied consistently. There is in existence today a Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation, composed of three Mexicans and three Americans. "One of the Commission's guiding principles is that it is in the interest of both countries for Mexican industrialization to proceed as rapidly as possible. . . ." The Mexican-American Commission for Economic Cooperation explains:

"Industrialization will raise the standard of living in Mexico. The

* *Fortune Magazine*, May, 1942.
** *Discussion on the Post-War Outlook*, p. 38.

* Speech delivered to Commerce and Industry Association of New York, Jan. 17, 1944.

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industrial worker will be able to buy more of the products of agriculture, the agricultural worker will be able to buy more of the products of industry, and their combined productive and purchasing power will enable Mexico to widen its markets and increase purchases from other nations."*

This enlightened point of view is not shared by all sections of American capital. There are still no few monopolists who can think of Latin America only in terms of superprofits, in terms of exploiting cheap labor and natural resources.

The Soviet Union can also become a vast market for American goods when the war is over. While in the pre-war years attempts were made to increase U.S.-Soviet trade, this never reached the proportions which in the favorable climate of friendship to the Soviet Union it would have attained. In 1938, American exports to the Soviet Union approximated some $69 million or only about 2 per cent of total American exports.

Eric Johnston, President of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, in a special interview with *Pravda,* reported by the United Press on March 6, declared: "I foresee that post-war trade relations between the two countries will reach a magnitude never achieved before."

War and the Working Class, authoritative Soviet trade union publication, made the following recent observations on Soviet post-war trade:

"Trade with the Soviet Union can doubtlessly be profitable for England, the United States, Canada and other countries. Our country can be for them—if sane attitudes are taken toward business — a voluminous and stable market such as most likely no other customer would ever be.

"It is plain the size and structure of our imports will depend considerably upon the size and conditions of credits allowed to the Soviet Union. It is understood, of course, that the Soviet Union is a powerful industrialized state owning various resources, and will enter the world market not only as a buyer but also as an exporter of goods." *

This therefore is the perspective for world trade if world stability is established when the war is over. But this world stability can, under the conditions of today, only be achieved on the basis of a recognition of the new world reality and through the strengthening of the American - Soviet - British Alliance. That this is not assured but must still be fought for is to be seen in the fact that there are still powerful forces who would like to see America take an opposite course. *Modern Industry,* an influential magazine reaching management in some 30,000 industrial plants in the nation, says the following on this score in an editorial in the issue of November 15, 1943:

"And if we were tempted to do that in past years [pursue a policy of ruthless imperialism], the temptation can be even greater when this war has ended. For America will emerge from this war the world's

* *Modern Industry,* Nov. 15, 1943.

* *New York Times,* Feb. 20, 1944.

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strongest nation, with all the ingredients necessary for a policy of crushing economic imperialism on a global scale. This would practically guarantee another war."

Guaranteeing Maximum Employment

Even a vast expansion of the world market is not in itself sufficient to guarantee full employment if this development is not coupled with conditions of an expanding home market in this country. As Leo M. Cherne, Executive Secretary, Research Institute of America, reminds us: "Foreign trade is a two-way affair. To export we must import. If we want our customers abroad to buy from us we must enable them to sell to us." *

Thus, in the last analysis, the question resolves itself into whether we as a nation can increase our own consuming power sufficiently to meet the challenge of maximum employment. Here too, there is no blueprint, just an approach to the solution of the problem. And the approach is that of the Second Bill of Rights proposed by President Roosevelt; namely, that we dare not think in terms of anything less than providing to every American: The right to a useful, remunerative job; the right to earn enough for adequate food, clothing and recreation; the right of every family to a decent home; the right of medical care and the opportunity to enjoy good health; the right of adequate protection from the fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment; and the right to a good education.

Is it fantastic to think in terms of substantially achieving these rights under capitalism? We do not think so. In fact, we believe that the achievement of these rights has become an absolute necessity if American capitalism itself is to survive. It has become possible due to the progressive and democratic changes that have occurred—the maturing of powerful forces who will insist upon their realization.

This is also understood by many hard-headed, sober minds of big business. They know that while the American people have not yet been won for socialism, they do believe in social security, they do expect and intend to fight for relatively full employment and higher living standards when this war is over. In a speech to the Society for the Advancement of Management, Leo M. Cherne told the assembled industrialists and engineers:

"It is wishful thinking to assume for one single moment that continued large scale unemployment will be accepted any longer as the inescapable consequence of an immutable economic law." *

And further:

"We can see clearly now that a third World War will become inevitable and will be far more brutal than World War II unless available manpower is used constructively in creating goods and services for the satisfaction of human desires. Unless we accomplish this task, no economic law, no social philosophy, no man or group of men on earth can stop another holocaust."

* Speech delivered Dec. 4, 1943.

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These are harsh words, but truthful ones. Mr. Cherne also draws conclusions of what must happen if private industry does not provide full employment:

"The second lesson we must learn is that the national government cannot stand passively by while the business cycle takes its own course and creates ever more violent fluctuations. And it doesn't make any difference what the political composition of that government happens to be. The national government of the twentieth century cannot afford either politically or economically to fall from a record level of prosperity into the depths of depression and unemployment. *To the same degree that private enterprise fails to absorb the pressure of disemployment, exactly to the same degree will the national government be compelled to provide work in one way or another.* Neither slogans nor refresher courses in past history will lessen the insistence of the disemployed for jobs." (My emphasis—G.G.)

Lest some believe that the above views be the isolated ones of but one business spokesman, let me call attention to the conclusions drawn by the *Fortune Magazine* Supplement on "Domestic Economy," of December, 1942. After retracing the pitiful story of the thirties which it calls the "Dismal Decade," this Supplement makes a proposal for guaranteed post-war employment in these words:

"We propose that the government should underwrite permanent prosperity; that it be established government policy, whether Republican or Democratic, to maintain reasonably full employment in the U.S."

The economists who worked on this Supplement have no illusions. They admit that "the business cycle will still be with us," but they nonetheless believe that "the government should set a minimum, and a minimum reasonably close to our full capacity, below which employment should never be permitted to fall."

"How can everybody who wants and is able to work be assured a reasonable chance at a job?" they ask, and they answer with a three point program:

1. "The first and most important step is for the government to see to it that private industry, which produces the vast bulk of goods and services and employs the vast bulk of the working population, has every chance to operate at capacity and to invest as much of the nation's savings as it can absorb."

2. "The second way to implement a full-production policy is to increase individual security by direct means. These means are chiefly a greatly extended system of unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, and other forms of social security. They include a great deal more government responsibility for public health, housing and nutrition, as well as more and better schools. Such a program is absolutely essential to the well-being and the sense of security of the American people. As a nation we can afford it; indeed, we cannot afford to do without it."

3. "But when at last depression threatens, and the government is called on its guarantee of employ-

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ment, it has still a third implement to hand. This should be a flexible program of public works, to be turned on whenever and wherever a part of our productive resources are obviously going to waste."

We have quoted at such length because we can essentially agree with this approach to the subject. With an approach such as this, it is possible to find a solution to the perplexing economic problem of the post-war period.

Of course, it would be idle fancy to believe that *all* sections of big-business are ready to accept the above more enlightened approach. Nor does the fact that President Roosevelt has proposed a Second Bill of Rights guarantee victory for this broader concept of social security and maximum employment. The guarantee lies *only in the struggle* to extend and deepen our democracy, to bring together all the democratic forces for war-time and post-war national unity, and to build a stronger united labor movement as the backbone of the nation.

There certainly can be no objection to encouraging private industry to do its utmost in meeting the problem of full employment, if the principle is accepted that in case it fails, or to the extent that it does, the government shall fill the breach. This is the underlying thought that runs through the Baruch-Hancock Report on Reconversion. We completely agree with the way in which that report placed the problem of public works in a subordinate position even though there will undoubtedly be a great renewal of public works and construction programs at the end of the war in the form of slum-clearance and urban re-development, super-speed highways, river-valley developments, rural electrification, etc.

Earl Browder in his report, *Teheran and America,* correctly stressed the need for doubling the purchasing power of the American people. This can be achieved through hundreds of indirect ways in addition to the all-important direct means of constantly adding to the take-home pay of the American worker. Some of the indirect methods are those of shorter hours of work, vacations with pay, an extension of every form of social security, and improved community services of every variety. Thus the struggle for higher wages and improved living standards will be more necessary in the post-war than ever before, and will be waged not only by labor, but by all progressive forces who seek the fulfillment of the Teheran perspective of a durable peace.

One of the most important means for increasing the purchasing power of the country must be the attainment of complete equality for the Negro people and the extension of democracy to the South. The general backwardness and lower standard of living prevailing in the South are directly the outcome of the failure to complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the failure to give complete freedom to the Negro people after the Civil War. The whole country is paying for this betrayal today, not only in lower living standards but in the constant threat of Southern reaction to all

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American democracy. Not only are millions in the poll-tax states deprived of their elementary democratic right as American citizens, but through the absence of that right, reactionary and fascist demagogues usurp their way to Congress and sabotage and obstruct our war effort.

The fight for the complete elimination of the poll tax, the serious grappling with the problem of farm tenancy and the Southern plantation system, are vital features of a program for a revitalized American democracy and economy. The raising of the abnormally low standard of living of the 40 million people of our Southern states is one of the most important means by which to solve the more stubborn aspects of our long term economic problems.

It can therefore be seen that our confidence in the ability of the nation to achieve a relatively peaceful solution of its post-war problems does not depend on the whims or desires of individuals or even classes, but on the compulsions of economic and political necessity—the real driving force of history. Frederick Engels used to repeat that "Freedom is the recognition of necessity." And insofar as American capitalism is concerned, it can only achieve a new freedom of movement to the extent that it recognizes the new necessities—the realities of a new world and a new America. In the world at large it no longer has the "freedom" to blackjack and rob weaker nations of their natural riches and their heritage as free and independent peoples; in the United States, it no longer has the "freedom" to create vast armies of unemployed to be thrown on the scrap heap of society. And when we say "it no longer has," we do not mean this in any absolute sense, but in the sense that the people do not intend to tolerate imperialist license under any guise.

New, powerful social forces must be reckoned with—democratic forces that will be given a tremendous impetus forward by anti-fascist victory in the war. And what is likewise encouraging for the future is that some of the most responsible representatives of finance-capital recognize the new situation and are drawing the necessary conclusions from it. That is what helped make Teheran possible.

It is obvious to Marxists that the basic contradiction of capitalism, that between the social character of production and the private ownership of the means of production, still continues to operate and cannot be solved merely on the basis of increased market possibilities.

The very industrialization of whole new areas of the world will in time create new contradictions, but as these arise so will the means by which to solve them become more evident. In fact, to the very degree that we are able to solve the immediate post-war economic problems on the basis of a durable peace and orderly world, to that extent will it become even more possible in the future to find those answers which can guarantee the continued forward march of mankind.

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THE COMMUNIST VANGUARD*

BY V. J. JEROME

I.

NEW currents have made themselves felt throughout the war-involved world. The titanic Red Army advance and the preparations for the Western invasion of Europe, though great struggles still loom ahead, are bringing the peaks of victory ever nearer to our sight. Through the agreement of Teheran the coalition of Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States has been strengthened. In that accord for victory, post-war reconstruction, and enduring peace are represented the democratic aspirations of the peoples. Teheran signifies that the basis for a new era has been established.

The tasks—military and political—enhanced with the new perspectives, demand of the American people unprecedented resilience, responsibility, unity. Never before in the history of America has our nation been called upon more imperatively to crush the defeatist efforts of the enemy within the gate. The "grave dangers of rightist reaction" against which President Roosevelt warned must be defeated for the Teheran policies to be realized.

It is Teheran's distinction that, unlike many another conference among leaders of nations, it did not limit itself to the voicing of an aspiration. What is so important and so vital about Teheran is that it also provides the program of action for realizing its aims, and the organization and the weapons by which its program may be achieved. It is now the task of the peoples to integrate themselves into the program which the leaders of the Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition have formulated and to work single-mindedly for its application in actuality. The world condition which the Teheran agreement seeks to bring into being is no Eldorado to be entered through the gates of fantasy. It is an objective that must be reached by struggle and maintained through victory, in a war that knows no armistice—a war for the political and moral destruction of fascism now and after its military destruction on the field of battle.

* * *

At this new turning point in history, the Communists of the United States have risen to their supreme

* Based on a speech delivered at the plenary meeting of the Eastern Pennsylvania District Committee of the Communist Party, February 27, 1944.

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responsibility to the working class and to the nation. With Marxian comprehension and boldness Earl Browder, reporting for the leadership of the Communist Party, set forth a policy of decisive importance for full mobilization of the nation's democratic forces behind the President and the Teheran Declaration. The essence of the Communist policy is the strengthening of our national unity and of the leading, tri-Power coalition in the United Nations, for accelerating victory, for assuring the success of the win-the-war forces in the 1944 elections, and for realizing an orderly post-war reconstruction within the conditions of an enduring peace.

Entailed in this policy is the proposal to effect a modification in the organization of the Communists by giving up its electoral status of party in the sense of American political tradition. To facilitate the cementing and extension of national unity and the closer collaboration of Communists and non-Communists, it is proposed that the organization adopt the name, or one corresponding to it, of "American Communist Political Association."

"Under such a name"—Browder stated in his report to the National Committee—"we will find it much easier to explain our true relationship with all other democratic and progressive groupings which operate through the medium, in the main, of the two-party system, and take our place in free collaboration at their side."

* * *

The proposal to change the name of the Communist organization has given rise to questions expressing concern that such a change may impair Communist integrity and violate Marxian principle. It is asked: Will not the elimination of the *Party* component from the organization's name mean in reality liquidation of the Communists as vanguard of the working class?

The proposal needs to be examined with respect to its two main aspects. These are:

1. Its relationship to the immediate political needs of the current world situation, and

2. Its foundation in Marxian theory and practice.

These two aspects of the question involve basically the meaning of the concept "Communist vanguard" and the relation of the vanguard to the working class.

The advance guard of the working class is not to be conceived as something absolute, as something having unconditioned existence. It is related in the closest and most intimate manner to the class by which it is engendered and whose permanent and immediate interests it serves.

The Communist vanguard must be seen, not as something congealed and static, but as an ever-moving, ever-evolving entity, functioning in relation to other groups and social forces generally, upon a ground of material conditions and within a totality of political and social realities.

The role of the Communist vanguard is set forth in classic form by the *Communist Manifesto:*

"The Communists . . . are on the

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one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement."

The general historic task of the working class is to achieve its own emancipation and with that the emancipation of all the oppressed: through the socialist transformation of society to raise the nation to a new historic level.

This ultimate objective, first and most fully understood by the vanguard, is determined by the unique historic essence of the working class. The proletariat neither has the basis nor can have the objective of perpetuating itself in power in a new class society. The exploited class in the last of the antagonistic class societies can attain its dissolution only by realizing the dissolution of all class society.

The historic aim of the working class is thus bound up with the vital needs of the people. The working class is both class of today and embryo of the emancipated humanity of tomorrow. Its advance is predicated on the furtherance of democracy, and by its advance it furthers democracy.

Herein is the basis for the paramount role of labor in the struggle of the nation today for life, for freedom. The great charters of Bread, Freedom, and Brotherhood that in past epochs consolidated into embattled nationhoods the peoples risen against the oppressive feudal order, have their stalwart champion in the working class of today. In the epic struggle of the Spanish Republic for national independence and democracy, the workers were the spearhead of the war against the fascist invaders. In the great People's Front for the liberty and democratic nationhood of France, the labor movement was the unifying, leading, and most militant force. The workers' state, our Soviet ally, stands today in union, will, and strength foremost among the nations, dealing death to the fascist violators of nationhood.

The labor movement of our own country advances, in its main trend, toward greater independent political action in conjunction with other democratic, win-the-war groups, as the most resolute and consistent force in defense of the nation's vital interests, which are inseparable from its own. Thus, today, the C.I.O. Political Action Committee is already a vital factor in reinforcing national unity, by supporting all the win-the-war policies in war production and the nation's war economy, by rallying labor and the people behind Roosevelt for guaranteeing victory to the pro-Teheran forces at the polls in November. Its work is being closely seconded by strong forces in the A. F. of L., where, despite reactionary officials, hundreds of local and state bodies are now collaborating with the C.I.O. in the growing joint political action of American labor. In this greatest of all wars, labor has accordingly the task of

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effecting the fullest possible anti-fascist unity of the nation, for hastening victory and for securing a long-lasting peace.

The Communist vanguard, having its roots among the masses and functioning in closest contact with them, has an indispensable part in the fulfillment of the all-embracing task facing labor and the nation today.

In its Communist vanguard labor sums up its essential oneness of aim and action, its clear orientation toward achieving its political unity and action, its vision and resoluteness for the maximum fulfillment of its role as the most consistent unifying and democratizing force in the nation.

No other class in modern society can demonstrate the cohesiveness and solidarity which are inherent in the working class. For more than any other class, labor achieves a homogeneous character, brought about by the position in society of this greatest productive force and fostered by the social character of large-scale capitalist production. The bourgeoisie, the class that sets its stamp upon the existing social order, is divided by economic interests into several main conflicting groupings, among whom the cleavages, with their political expressions, may at times assume the fierceness that in general is manifested in class struggles. This is today seen most acutely in our country, when, in relation to the Roosevelt victory program, in its domestic and foreign-political phases, the patriotic capitalists, holding dominancy, are in national unity with labor and the middle classes against the defeatist camp among the bourgeoisie. It is true that, notwithstanding its basic homogeneity, labor has its differentiations and divisions. Constantly new strata of workers coming into labor's ranks tend to bring with them their prejudices and backward traits upon which reactionaries are only too prone to play. There is the division between the unskilled and the skilled workers; in the latter category an upper layer of labor aristocracy has served as the mainstay of reactionary Social-Democracy. (The base of the labor aristocracy was greatly narrowed by the Great Economic Crisis and has been further weakened by the vast unionization of the unorganized and the increase of trade union democracy, notably in the C.I.O.). Labor, further, has its fringe of lumpenproletarians, from whom fascist forces draw their easy "labor" recruits. American workers are still considerably influenced by agencies of reactionary propaganda. Indeed, we still have trade unions that practice Jim Crow segregation.

But over and above such backward expressions we see the tremendous advance of labor on the road of progressive, democratic, and truly unifying trade unionism. This process is reflected in the magnificent contribution that the trade unions have made to the war effort, especially all-out production. It is reflected, particularly by the C.I.O., in the progress on the road of labor's political action, of unified labor activity, and of international trade union cooperation—all directed to bring to maximum effec-

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tiveness the role of labor in the nation's victory drive. The advance is further reflected in the ever greater organization of Negro workers and their increasing integration in the trade unions on a basis of equality. Significant is the fact that of the million and a half Negro war workers half that number have been unionized within a few years. Significant, too, is the successful action of the National Maritime Union, in conjunction with various Negro organizations, of winning the appointment to ships in the American merchant marine of Negro captains commanding mixed officers and crews that work in exemplary harmony. The qualitative as well as quantitative strengthening of the labor movement symbolized by these and numerous other manifestations, has made possible the forward movement of the working class as the main force for rallying and coalescing the democratic power of the nation.

The essential qualities of the working class are manifested in their most consistent and heightened form in the advance guard of that class. The Communist vanguard, growing out of the struggles of the working class for progress and the welfare of the people, stimulates and helps to advance the unity without which labor cannot achieve its full strength and contribute with full effectiveness to the cause of the nation.

In the war today the Communists see the working class of which they are a part as the most determined and consistent anti-fascist force in the national unity. For labor confronts in fascism the mortal peril to everything it has gained since workers first learned to organize. Labor knows this war for the destruction of fascism to be its war, and is giving its all for victory. It has willed to suspend its mighty weapon, the right to strike, for the duration, and it has in the main lived up to that resolve, despite provocations by unpatriotic employers and defeatist labor leaders of the John L. Lewis brand. Labor has shown the way to sacrifice for the war effort. While conducting a struggle for a wage level adequate to the needs of the soldiers of production, for effective price control, for food subsidies, and for an adequate taxation program that will not be "relief . . . for the greedy," labor, as backbone of national unity, carries on in the face of the fabulous profiteering of some industrialists and the obstructionist legislation carried through by the majority in Congress.

The Communists, whose concern for labor's progress and the welfare of the nation is their reason for being, are in the forefront today encouraging labor to even greater achievements for unity and victory. They urge against relaxing the no-strike pledge, however great the provocations. At the same time they fight to protect labor's gains and rights, to end all forms of discrimination—to strengthen the war effort by strengthening labor's effectiveness in it. They fortify labor's consciousness of its role as welding force of the national unity. They inspire and assist the advance toward united labor action, in the

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direction of organic trade union unity and international labor solidarity, for strengthening the vital labor component of all the pro-Teheran forces. Because of labor's increasing recognition of the vital role of the Communists, Red-baiting is markedly on the wane in the trade unions and, despite the divisive efforts of Social-Democrats and other reactionaries, Communists are increasingly appreciated and respected in the life of American trade unionism.

II.

It is an axiom of Marxism, richly confirmed by history, that the consciousness of the historic role of the working class does not come to the labor movement automatically, merely as a result of quantitative growth. To grasp its historic aim and exercise its historic initiative, the working class produces, as the highest expression of proletarian organization, its political leadership, its vanguard. This vanguard, by its "understanding the line of march," brings to bear its Marxian theory to help the labor movement become fully conscious of its role in the march of history.

The Communist vanguard is so inevitable a part of the working-class movement that from the earliest stages, even before its full stratification as a class, the rudimentary proletariat evolved its rudimentary Communist vanguard. In the course of the Great French Revolution, the artisan-proletariat, still a limb of the Third Estate, brought forward the equalitarian communist organization led by Gracchus Babeuf, a movement to which Marx paid high tribute. While noting its necessarily limited aspects, its "crude equalitarianism," he called it "the first appearance of a really effective communist party."

The material conditions were then not yet present for the formulation of a scientific Communist program. The maturing of historical conditions, toward the middle of the past century, made possible the development of the conception of communism from utopia to science and brought forward, in its first phase, the scientific vanguard of the working class—in the form of the Communist League founded in London in 1847. Of that pioneer vanguard Friedrich Engels, nearly forty years later, in his "History of the Communist League,"* wrote in retrospect:

"The theoretical principles that the Communist League had inscribed on its banner in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1847 constitute today the strongest international bond of the entire proletarian movement of both Europe and America."

Though the Communist League was short-lived, the role and history of that first Marxist party yield invaluable lessons to us respecting the dynamics and form of the Communist organization in relation to its necessary functioning.

* * *

The founding of the Communist League was really a transformation, through the leadership of Marx and Engels, of its direct precursor, the

* Written as the introduction to the third (1885) edition of Marx' pamphlet *Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne.*

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League of the Just, which had been formed eleven years before by the mainly proletarian elements that separated from the Parisian democratic-republican Exiles' League. The Communist League, whose immortal Manifesto was composed by Marx and Engels, was a qualitative, historic advance upon the League of the Just with its French and German utopist trends of Babouvist equalitarian communism and Weitling's Christo-communism. Marx and Engels, while refraining from joining the League of the Just, had for years been in close influential association with its more advanced members.

Marx and Engels had continuously maintained broad relations with the international workers' movement of that time—the first independent working-class movement—as well as with other democratic groups. Thus, they worked to establish cooperation between the Communists and the Chartist class-movement of the English workers, entering into close relationship with its revolutionary wing. * They concluded likewise "a kind of cartel" (Engels) with the Belgian radical democrats, Marx serving as vice-president of the Brussels Democratic Association.** They were connected, further, with the French petty-bourgeois radical democratic party, whose members took the name "Social-Democrats," and to whose organ, *La Réforme*, Engels contributed.

Marx and Engels guided the Communist League upon the course of joining the forces of Communist and non-Communist democrats in a united front, nationally and internationally, against feudalism and reaction. They did this while criticizing, when occasion warranted, their non-Communist allies, not for failing to be Communists, but for failing to be consistent democrats, for letting vagueness and phrasemongering do duty for concrete policy and decisive action. The Communists were the conscience and the driving force of the democratic movement.

The Communist Manifesto was hardly off the press when the tempests of revolution swept over Europe. The fledgling League, with its small membership and with no time for preparation, could not in the social upheaval of 1848 come forward as an effective vanguard. Moreover, as Engels informs us, the bulk of the members returned to their respective homelands to participate in the struggle, with the result that the groups of the League were largely dissolved. But, more profoundly, the conditions favoring a secret propaganda League had passed. In the words of Engels, "from the moment when the causes which had made the secret League necessary ceased to exist, the secret League as such also ceased to mean anything."

The dissolution of the League, however, resulted in essence in the spreading of the influence of the Communists among the democratic

* Engels became a contributor to the central organ of the movement, the *Northern Star*.

** An interesting account of Marx' role in this organization is contained in the article "Karl Marx and the Democratic Association of 1847," by Walter Haenisch, *Science and Society*, Vol. II, No. 1.

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forces in all spheres. "Everywhere," Engels was able to state in his "History," "members of the League stood at the head of the extreme democratic movement."

In the spring of 1848, Marx and Engels founded in Germany the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* which became a powerfully influential democratic newspaper. Clearly understanding the bourgeois-democratic character of the revolution and the need for uniting all the democratic forces to carry through the revolution to success and decisively defeat feudalism and reaction, Marx and Engels made the journal a champion in the struggle for democracy.

"If we did not desire that," Engels wrote in 1884, ". . . then nothing remained for us but to preach communism in a little provincial sheet and to found a tiny sect instead of a great party of action. But we had already been spoilt for the role of preachers in the wilderness; we had studied the utopians too well for that. We had not drafted our program for that." *

The series of colossal defeats sustained by the Revolution in France and Germany in 1848-49 did not, however, shut out for the revolutionary forces all prospects of success. In the autumn of 1849 almost the entire leadership of the former Communist League reassembled in London and, with augmented numbers and renewed ardor, proceeded to organize the League afresh. In the Address of the new Central Council to the League, in March, 1850, Marx and Engels, its authors, still believed that "a new revolution is imminent" and still hoped for victory. But with the advance of the months, these prospects dimmed. It became increasingly evident to Marx and Engels that the economic crisis of 1847 which had served as impetus to the Revolution had given way to recovery. And. as Engels states in his "History": "whoever had eyes to see and could use them must have seen clearly that the revolutionary storm of 1848 was gradually becoming exhausted."

Marx and Engels realized that history had removed the central issues in the March Address from the order of the day and that the working class would now have to adjust its strategic tasks to the conditions of an upswing of capitalism. In the reorganized League, therefore, they waged a struggle against the Willich-Schapper ultra-left fraction which, failing to realize the ebb of the revolutionary tide and yielding to the influence of the émigré camp of "bourgeois-democratic revolution-makers," was bent on an immediate course of calling for renewed risings. The struggle had its inevitable culmination in the split of autumn, 1850. On the occasion of the split, Marx excoriated this "Party of the Deed," declaring:

"The minority replaces the critical attitude with dogma, the materialist viewpoint with an idealist one. *Pure will* instead of the real relations becomes in its eyes the driving force of revolution." *

* Frederick Engels, "Marx and the Neue Rheinische Zeitung (1848-49)," in Karl Marx, *Selected Works*. International Publishers, Vol. II, p. 31.

* Quoted by Marx in his *Enthuellungen ueber den Kommunistenprozess zu Koeln* (*Revelations*

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The struggle of Marx and Engels against the Leftist sectarians in that early Communist vanguard was a struggle for establishing the vanguard on the foundations of historical materialism, of making it serve as an effective, unfailing instrument of guidance to the working class and the other democratic forces of the nation in every period of history and in moments of great change. It was the opening stage of the unceasing process of struggles that Marxism has waged through the generations against infantile Leftism, as well as against Rightist opportunism, which has cloaked itself in the raiment of socialism.

The successful outcome of those struggles is the validation that history has put upon the Marxian program and its policies for meeting the needs of labor and the people in immediate and long-range perspectives, the validation it has put upon the Marxists as defenders of the nation.

The decision of Marx and Engels to effect the dissolution of the Communist League, two years after the split, was a move to strengthen the vanguard role of the Communists. The period of the Revolution of 1848-49 and of the ensuing reaction had served as a process of testing and confirming the scientific basis of Marxism; in that crucible of democratic-revolutionary experience the basic strategy and tactic of the proletarian vanguard was further forged, as a means of linking the vanguard with the popular movement, and promoting its leadership within it, at every level of the people's development. The decision to dissolve the League constituted no "counsels of solitary diligence and moral self-dependence," as one American apologist for "refuge in an Emersonian individualism" sought to find sanction in that action of Marx and Engels. * The decision was their recognition that, the general form of the labor movement having changed, the organization had in its form of secret League become a constriction on the Communist vanguard. The dissolution was necessary to free the political leadership of the working class from lingering utopianism and sectarianism. It was a withdrawal from isolation. The conditions were ripening for a vastly broader, more inclusive, and more effective organization in which the Marxists might bring to bear their vanguard role. That organization was founded in the next decade. It was the great International Workingmen's Association—the First International.

[*The concluding section of this article, to appear in the May issue, will further discuss the Marxian theory of the Communist vanguard and the role of the Communist organization today.*]

Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne), Gottingen-Zurich, 1885, pp. 20-21.

In justice to August Willich and Karl Schapper, a further passage in the *Revelations* is here deserving of translation. Marx writes: "Willich showed in the North American Civil War [in which he distinguished himself and rose to the rank of general—V.J.J.] that he was more than a fantast, and Schapper, lifelong champion of the labor movement, recognized and admitted, soon after the Cologne trial, his momentary error. Many years later, on his deathbed, a day before his death, he still spoke to me with poignant irony of those days of 'refugee-blundering' " (pp. 72-73).

* For an elaboration of this discussion, see my article, "Edmund Wilson: To the Munich Station," *New Masses*, April 4, 1939.

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THE OHIO MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN

BY ARNOLD JOHNSON

OHIO went over the top in the party membership drive by enrolling 1,233 new members in less than twelve weeks. We feel sure, however, that we would have done better had the entire leadership and membership more fully and rapidly grasped the report of Comrade Browder, the decisions of our National Committee, and the articles of Comrade Williamson in the January and February issues of *The Communist*.

In this campaign Ohio increased its membership by 50 per cent. Cleveland, with 669 new members, now has the largest membership in its history. This is also true for Youngstown. Toledo, which doubled its membership last year, redoubled its membership and was the banner section in the campaign. Akron and Columbus went over the top. These cities carried the campaign and demonstrated concretely the correctness of the National Committee decision for an intensive membership campaign, further proving that the objective conditions and the issues were such that the people appreciate the need for, and the role of, the Communist organization.

The campaign was the fulfillment of a great responsibility to the people of Ohio—a win-the-war task. The weaknesses in the campaign were of a subjective character. Had they been overcome at an early stage, our campaign could have achieved greater objectives at an earlier date. Some lessons must therefore be drawn from our Ohio experience.

* * *

We considered that our main task was to establish the political necessity of the campaign as a major win-the-war task. This involved constant strengthening of the political understanding of the membership and highlighted the need for clarification of issues. As the membership understood more and more the meaning of Teheran and the necessity of the proposals of our National Committee, the party membership campaign took on greater enthusiasm. The main purpose of the meetings was to give such political understanding of events.

Linking up the membership drive with political issues strengthened our drive and our mass work. This was true, not only because we brought in new members who helped in our mass work, but also because Ohio Communists were constantly explaining to others the need of firm win-the-war policies, the significance of the primary and

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general elections this year, the role of the people, and the need of strengthening labor's role in the struggle for national unity. The enrollment of new members was a central point in all our activity.

The membership best realized the importance of the campaign when the leadership participated in the drive directly and constantly broadened the participation of members. Such was the work of Gus Hall, County Secretary in the Cleveland area, who personally took part in the enrollment of about 100 new members. To do this, he had to involve an ever-increasing number of members from the clubs in visiting prospects. The same was true of leading forces in other cities, particularly Joe Friedman in Toledo, Bud Ehrhart in Youngstown, and Mike Babinchak in Warren.

Any lag in the drive—and we had our slow weeks—was due to an underestimation of the changes and political development of people. A properly-conducted campaign this year had to be based on the new situation, the increasingly favorable attitude of the people toward the Communists, the need for the collaboration of Communists and non-Communists to insure victory in the elections, the war, and the post-war. Cleveland's Twentieth Anniversary *Daily Worker* mass meeting, at which Earl Browder was the main speaker, convinced our membership that we are living and working in a new situation. Mr. W. O. Walker, a Negro Republican City Councilman, Mr. Joseph Krizek, a Democratic City Councilman, and the representative of the City Administration, who were speakers at the meeting, and others who sent greetings, demonstrated the collaboration of Communists and non-Communists. Moreover, the meeting demonstrated to the people of Cleveland that Communist membership does not mean isolation from other forces, but strengthens cooperation with these forces.

A further indication of changes among the people was indicated by the fact that a number of leading Negro Democrats and some Negro Republicans joined our ranks after they read Comrade Browder's report and the decisions of our National Committee. It is said that we have underestimated the tremendous effect which Teheran has had among the Negro people. This effect was further demonstrated by the enthusiastic reception which Ben Davis, Jr. received in Cleveland.

Still further indicative of these changes was our election campaign in 1943, in which 47,300 people voted for a Communist for the Cleveland Board of Education.

* * *

We were not bold enough in estimating the political development of the people today. Boldness is not merely a method or an approach. Boldness is not brazenness or mere dramatics. Boldness is an expression of confidence in people and indicates a proper estimation of the political changes that have occurred among people. When we were weak in our campaign it was the result of not being bold enough. As we analyzed changes more correctly, as we more fully understood the sig-

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nificance of Teheran and brought the program of our recent National Committee meeting to the people, our campaign increased in its boldness, politically and organizationally.

Another feature of our drive was the development of understanding of our Communist organization as the greatest educational institution in the country. We have not fully appreciated this fact. This was brought home when a new member explained why he joined our organization. He is a worker in a shop. He had gone through college and had always studied and struggled for a solution to social problems. When he had finished school, he thought that he had worked out his answers. But he was not quite satisfied. While working, he began discussing problems and events with a worker next to him. The other worker was foreign-born, spoke English with difficulty, had not even finished elementary school—but he answered questions, he knew about international, national and local events, could discuss what was happening, what was changing and developing, and what needed to be done. The foreign-born worker did all this in the most unassuming and modest manner and really thought nothing about it. As these discussions developed from day to day, the shop worker just had to ask, "Where do you get your information? How do you know these things?"

The foreign-born worker, a naturalized citizen, answered simply, "Maybe it's because I'm a Communist and read the *Daily Worker*." The inquiring worker determined to join and to learn.

Undoubtedly, this experience in Fisher Bomber Plant in Cleveland could be repeated. Had our party fully appreciated this character of our organization, we would have been far more bold in asking people to join.

As we deepen our understanding of Comrade Browder's report, with its clear analysis of the relation of forces in the world today, its correct projection of policies for victory in the war, for the post-war period, and for the 1944 elections; particularly as we see the effect of this pamphlet on others as the *Common Sense* of our day, then we appreciate more correctly the educational character of our organization. This character finds expression not only in our great literature and the role of our press, but also through our participation in the struggles and movements of the people.

We need to draw more on history and show the correct policies of our party. We need not be boastful or beat our breasts and shout "I told you so." On the other hand, we should explain the lessons of history in order to strengthen the policies and activities of the people in the interests of our nation. Many new members do not know, but they want to know, the history of our struggle against fascism. Yes, of the role of the Seventh World Congress. They want to know about Spain, about Munich, and what we said and did. They want to know of our struggle for the collaboration of the United States and the Soviet Union and how that struggle has always been in the interests of America. They want to know of

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our role in helping to unify and strengthen the labor movement. Such features are part of our educational character which help to establish the confidence of the new member in our organization.

The Communist organization is an educational institution not only because of its accumulation of knowledge that represents the generalized working-class and mass democratic experiences, but, in the main, because of a scientific method, because of the Marxist approach to the solution of problems. There are many encyclopedic and research institutions which publish tons of books and what not. There are organizations which are constantly using the radio, the platform, and printer's ink. That is not the criterion. Our basic position as a Marxist organization, our constant testing of theory in practice—what we say and do—is the key to the greatness of the educational character of our organization. As we talk with prospective members about our program and work, they see us in our educational role. As we discuss what we have done, they see that we have made progress in the political education of the masses. We need to appreciate this political educational character of the Communist organization even more—not only because it strengthens the understanding among our members of the proposals of the National Committee for the forthcoming party convention, but because it gives us a different emphasis in our approach to prospective members and makes it easier for them to join.

As we emphasize the political-educational character of our organization, our approach to the prospect is—"Join our ranks and learn." Such an approach makes clear that all Communists are constantly learning. It does not create doubts and transform us into a debating society, but expresses confidence in the prospective member and in ourselves—our program, method, and organization. It more carefully expresses the character of our organization and the changes proposed by our National Committee. Such an approach indicates a better appreciation of the role of our press and literature, and especially of *The Worker*, which is an especially powerful means for preparing people to join our ranks.

* * *

An analysis of the people who joined our organization in this campaign shows that most of our new members are prepared and convinced before they are visited and asked to join. This campaign is therefore an *enrollment campaign.* While we have habitually called it a "recruiting drive" or a "party building campaign," most people understand it as a "membership drive," and possibly "enrollment campaign" is most accurate.

We often underestimate the number of people who know of us and think in terms of joining. Certainly, we in Ohio did not reach all those who want to join our ranks, even though we improved on last year. Last year we reached 860 who were ready to join. This year, we reached 1,233. This increase in itself shows a further political development of

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greater sections of the people.

As we analyze certain figures, this becomes more evident. Last year 29 per cent of the new members were women. This year the percentage is 37. Last year 38 per cent were Negro; this year, 44 per cent. The increase of new members among Negroes and women occurred not only because we gave more attention, though to a limited degree, to these sections of the population; but it reflects the great political strides which the Negro people and the women are making today.

During this past year women have gone into industry in greater numbers. They have joined unions. They have participated in political events. They are conscious of the war effort. Teheran is affecting the thinking of greater and greater numbers among them. The housewives at home likewise think more about subsidies, price control and other vital problems. There is a political development among women which makes it logical that increasing numbers think about the Communists.

Among the Negro people, there has been the greatest political development, as expressed in their strengthened ties with the labor movement, their independence from old political line-ups, their struggles for full rights as American citizens, the positive response of the Ohio Negro masses to the election of Ben Davis, Jr. in New York, and their deeper understanding of the issues in the war and the peace as expressed in the Teheran declaration. Exactly because of political advancement of the Negro people, our organization enjoys higher prestige among them and a greater percentage join us.

Among the Negro people a larger number of those who have long been active in politics as well as trade union leaders and leaders in the shops have joined our clubs. This has placed upon us far greater responsibility for the political activity of the broadest masses of the Negro people. It has been our experience that these newly-enrolled forces immediately participate in all phases of our work. A good number of Negro leaders who enrolled at the beginning of the campaign participated in getting others to join. Thus, one new member in Toledo was responsible for bringing in thirteen others. Many others enrolled two or three of their contacts.

Higher political development of the new members was also demonstrated in the large number who joined our ranks from the shops. For instance, one comrade in Columbus enrolled twenty-three new members from the steel shop where he works. Similar experiences occurred in Fisher Bomber and other shops in Cleveland and oher cities. This is important in maintaining our main strength among workers in basic industry, which accounts for 60 per cent of the newly employed workers. Furthermore, it demonstrates that our policy of abolishing the shop branches actually serves to strengthen our relations with workers in the shops. It is easier for these workers to join now because they see that our organization does not function in any manner that is dual to the union but strengthens the role of the union in the shop.

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We have brought into our ranks a far larger number of trade union leaders, especially local officers, shop stewards and others. This is particularly true in Lorain, as well as in Toledo, Cleveland and other cities. Trade unionists who have the daily problem of developing practical application of policy have learned to appreciate the contribution of Communists.

* * *

In the course of the campaign, our policies have been discussed with at least three times the number of those who joined. This means that we have started people on the way to joining our ranks. It also means that we have to an extent dispelled the bogey and mystery about joining the Communists. For instance, when a leading official in the carpenters union was asked to join, he was surprised at the invitation. He did not join; but he knows that there is no mystery involved. A member of the photo-engravers union, after having been asked to join, revealed that he thought before joining the Communists an applicant had to go through all kinds of struggles and all kinds of tests of leadership. Sometimes we so emphasize the tested leadership of Communists that we create a distorted impression that it is hard for workers to join. Our campaign helped to rid people of such notions. All those who were visited and were asked to join can now feel more sure of themselves in working with Communists. Thus, the membership drive strengthened the collaboration of Communists and non-Communists.

In the course of all these discussions, we have heard of only isolated cases of those who did not fully agree with the new policies proposed by our National Committee. Of the several thousand who were visited, only a handful of old-time "professional sympathizers" shook their heads in skepticism. Our campaign demonstrated that the new policies have tremendous support among masses, particularly among those who are active and are concerned about public policy.

Our campaign was conducted in the most favorable circumstances—at the very time when our clubs have had the greatest attendance and the most thorough political discussions, especially on Comrade Browder's report and in preparation for the convention. Club meetings have in the main been of a political-educational character. Older members felt good about bringing new members to such meetings. Discussion of the membership campaign had to be concrete and well-planned. Meetings served the purpose of strengthening the political understanding, guaranteeing mobilizations and the timely achievement of goals. Very few new members were signed up at meetings. Socials which permitted individual discussions provided the only means of mass enrollment. The main method was organized visiting of contacts, readers of our press and literature, friends and neighbors.

In developing a bold approach toward asking people to join, only in the latter period of the drive did we also develop some clarity on the *voluntary* character of our organiza-

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tion. Too often, a comrade does not ask a person to join because he worries—"will the new member stay?" And the friend, on the other hand, may perhaps wonder, "If I join, can I drop out?" These questions necessitated clarity on the fact that our organization has always been a voluntary organization. In asking a person to join, we express confidence in the new member and in our organization. We are confident of the new member's desire and ability to learn and that once he learns, he will stay in our organization. People say that they want to learn more about us and our program. Our answer is, "Join and learn inside. We are confident that the Communist organization will meet your needs." The practically unanimous acceptance of our new policies, not only by our membership but also by thousands of others, and the ever-increasing enthusiasm for Comrade Browder's report by those who participated in discussions and studied it deeply, made everybody even more convinced that this manifest meeting of the members' needs made it possible for us to emphasize still further the voluntary character of membership.

As we analyzed the results of our membership drive of last year, this became even clearer. At the conclusion of our last year's campaign, the question was posed, "We can get people to join, now—can we keep them?" Our registration answered that question. Over 85 per cent of those who joined our ranks last year were registered and are today in our organization. That is something new. In previous years, even when the number of new members was low—the fluctuation was high. Thus, in 1942 only 30 per cent of those who joined were in the party at the end of the year. The fact that now new members stay in our ranks is partly due to the fact that there is now a better understanding on the part of the workers that our program and activities accord with their needs, and that we are not so demanding in details such as attendance at meetings. The historical conditions of this period further strengthen our "holding" power. All these positive conditions are being strengthened. There is ever more reason to be confident that the new member will stay. We were bold in bringing new members in last year; we should be bolder today.

The voluntary character of our organization should also be clarified because the vicious anti-Communist press has created many bogeys about Communists. The vile Hearst press, certain Social-Democratic Red-baiters, the Martin Dies clique and pro-Hitlerite Trotskyites spread every slander and vicious falsehood against us. They shout that we are foreign agents; that Communists are terrorists and anarchists; that we double-cross, scheme, and trick. While most intelligent workers are not influenced by such slander, some honest workers who should be in our ranks hesitate because of its effect, even though they fight against the slander. Such people need the opportunity to join and to be told about the voluntary character of membership. Such voluntary character does not conflict with the basic position of democratic centralism

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which is the most effective democratic form of organization; nor does it permit political or organizational irresponsibility. Such voluntary character does not weaken discipline based on political understanding, nor does it destroy responsibility or create chaos in organizaion.

On the other hand, an understanding of, and emphasis on, the voluntary character can strengthen responsibility of both the individual member toward the organization and of the organization toward the new member.

Ohio undertook to set the pace for the national drive. We did not fulfill that objective in the sense of completing our goal in a much shorter period, which was our original aim. Our experiences, however, demonstrate that the objective conditions are ripe for a far larger membership than we achieved. Every additional day demonstrates the need for a stronger Communist organization to meet our historic responsibilities toward labor and the nation in the war and in the postwar reconstruction.

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THOMAS JEFFERSON AND NATIONAL UNITY

BY FRANCIS FRANKLIN

WHEN Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill "surveyed the problems of the future" in the capital of ancient Persia, they were viewing the immediate and practical problems of the present with a realism and breadth of vision similar to that which always characterized Thomas Jefferson.

It was realism and breadth of vision which made Thomas Jefferson the greatest democrat of his day. There were men in Jefferson's time who fought passionately for abstract conceptions of democracy, but, being out of contact with life, they accomplished little and even hindered progress until they abandoned their abstract conceptions for concrete reality. There were others in Jefferson's lifetime who focused their attention on immediate practical problems, but who, without breadth of vision, became prisoners of the present moment, victims of that narrow practicality which, by muddling along, never finds a pathway to the future. As a realist, a materialist in philosophy, Jefferson always focused his mind on the immediate and the concrete; but within the immediate and concrete he saw life and movement and thus could comprehend those processes leading into the future. It was also this combination of realism and breadth of vision which enabled him to lead his generation to pursue that course which made our country great, strong, rich, and democratic.

Just because it is these qualities of leadership which are so sorely needed today, it is important for us to study not only how they are being revealed so brilliantly today by the Prime Minister of Great Britain, by our Commander-in-Chief and by the Premier of the Soviet Union, but also how they were manifested by Thomas Jefferson, our greatest single national leader after Washington, the man who more than anyone else after the Revolutionary War helped to forge that national unity which preserved us as a nation and to secure our national development on a thoroughly democratic basis.

* * *

The Herculean problem which confronts us today is no repetition of that which confronted Jefferson's generation, for history never repeats itself. Our problem is unprecedented, as was that of Jefferson's day. Our war today is rather a *continuation on a world scale* of the same struggle for national freedom and

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democracy which was being conducted in Jefferson's day under very different circumstances on a national scale. However, just because the early American struggles were an early phase of that conflict which today has engulfed the whole world and become so much more vast and complicated, there are enormous lessons to be learned from the skillful manner in which Jefferson led his people to meet and surmount their difficulties.

During the bitter years of our War for Independence, it was George Washington who more than any other single leader secured national unity and led us to victory in the face of what seemed to be insuperable obstacles, although Jefferson performed incalculable services by mobilizing the democratic forces around the leadership of Washington. However, in the years following the Peace of Paris, it was Thomas Jefferson who came forward as the outstanding national leader.

So many historians have found difficulty in interpreting the role of Jefferson, because they have persisted in attempting to separate in thought what Jefferson always saw was not separated in life. They have always viewed Jefferson as only the democratic leader, as if democracy in America were something separate and apart from the nation. The real genius of Jefferson consisted in his recognition that the defense of the nation and the extension of democracy in his day and for his country were one and the same, that the American nation could maintain itself and grow only on a democratic basis and that democracy on the other hand could be preserved only on a national basis. Thus, he became not only the leader of the democratic forces, but of the nation as a whole. More than any single leader after Washington he helped to shape the general character of our nation.

There were many in Jefferson's day who did not see this, just as there are many historians who still fail to see that this was the central issue at that time and who, therefore, are unable to give any explanation of Jefferson's fame, thus being placed in the awkward position of regarding it as an accident or illusion. Because the first strong demand for a firm national government came from the merchants, who sought to destroy the democratic states and to erect a monarchy, many of the democratic leaders, such as Sam Adams, Patrick Henry, and James Monroe, opposed the whole idea of a national government and clung tenaciously to the independence of the separate states, which were bound together only by the loosest and most ineffectual confederation.

These leaders failed to see that the little weak democracies, which was all they could envision, could have been snuffed out by the first strong hand laid upon them. Some of the democrats sought little democracies controlled solely by farmers and artisans, but failed to comprehend that the civil strife resulting from such efforts would lay the states prostrate before the foreign foes by which the states were surrounded. On the other hand, the

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merchants who advocated something resembling a national monarchy failed to see that it was impossible to establish that type of national state in the face of the powerful opposition of a revolutionary people who possessed the guns with which they had just overthrown monarchist rule. Furthermore, the advocates of a national monarchy could envision only a small nation along the Atlantic, for they all opposed the settlement of the West, which they knew would swell the forces of democracy.

Jefferson readily grasped the essence of the problem confronting America under the Confederation. There was no more thorough-going democrat in the world than he. He too was a staunch defender of the democratic states. He had helped draft the Constitution of Virginia and to reformulate its laws along democratic lines. He regarded local self-government as the surest bulwark of democracy. He too aspired toward government by farmers and artisans. But he recognized that a strong national government must be "the sheet anchor of our safety at home and peace abroad." He saw that the aim of government by farmers and artisans, his ultimate ideal, the most democratic ideal then conceivable, was at the time impossible.

There was no force sufficiently strong to secure its establishment, and the adventurous effort to establish it would divide the progressive forces and unite the reactionaries, thus accomplishing the direct opposite of those who sought it. What he saw to be necessary was national unity—the unity of all patriots of all classes—to preserve the independence which had been won with such difficulty. That national unity, he saw, could be secured only by a policy of compromise among classes.

Jefferson's greatness consisted in the fact that he was a master of compromise—not the kind of compromise which left the nation impotent before its foes, but the kind which strengthened and united it for victory and progress. Jefferson saw that the democrats must abandon their narrow-minded opposition to the program for a strong national government and must abandon their perspective of unyielding class struggle against the patriotic capitalists and landlords. On the other hand, he saw that the merchants must abandon their impossible program of abolishing the states and erecting a despotic national government. The states, with their democratic constitutions, must be left intact as bulwarks against anti-republican trends; but they must yield certain rights to permit the erection of a strong *federal* government.

A national federal government, by preserving the democratic states, would thus be a democratic national government, though not one controlled by farmers and artisans alone. Around this program, he saw the necessity for mobilizing all classes, the formation of a truly national front against the monarchist aggressors who surrounded the nation. Other than this, he saw no means of securing that unity and that central power which were necessary for our preservation. It was

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this compromise which was secured under the brilliant leadership of Jefferson's closest colleague, James Madison, who became known as the "Father of our Constitution."

Such a compromise was a "bitter pill" for the big merchants, who had dreamed of a monarchy, to swallow. But those who did not want to surrender to Britain realized that they had to swallow it, and they did. Those who considered it too "bitter" were converted by the inevitable logic of history into Tories, traitors to their country, and agents of a foreign power. On the other hand, the compromise also seemed a "bitter pill" to many of the radical democrats who wanted a "pure" fight against *all* merchants, speculators, and big landlords. But the majority of the democrats were led by Jefferson's insight to realize the necessity to substitute the progress that was actually possible for the abstract Utopia which was unattainable. Those democrats who considered the "pill" too bitter found themselves in strange company—in the same camp with monarchists, traitors, and agents of foreign powers. Here was another example of the truth that if one gets "too radical" he finds himself with the reactionaries, or as Earl Browder once put it, if one goes too far to the left he ends up on the right.

Jefferson saw that such a compromise, far from being a retreat, was an enormous step forward—not as far forward as Utopian dreamers *wanted* to take—but the only step forward which was *possible*—the only alternative to a tragic fall backwards.

There were those who proposed to reject the Constitution in 1788 in order, as they said, to ratify *some other more democratic* constitution *later*. They objected to the fact that the Constitution had been framed by a secret convention and they called for a new popularly elected convention. This sounded very progressive and democratic. But Jefferson, the greatest and most brilliant of all the democrats, resisted that pseudo-radical plan. He did not object to the secrecy of the Constitutional Convention.

Democrats like Madison and Franklin had participated in the secret convention, and they had defeated the reactionaries in its secret sessions. The Constitution they framed secretly was being submitted to a popular vote, as it had to be, and Jefferson insisted that the present Constitution—not some other, which did not exist—be ratified immediately and without fail. He pointed to its democratic features—popular representation, the guarantee that every state should have a republican form of government, and the right of amendment. He warned that rejection would be an invitation to foreign powers to invade the states which would thus announce their weakness and disunity to the world. And he pointed to the democratic features of the Constitution, which included the right of amendment, as the means whereby it could be further democratized after adoption, as actually proved to be the case.

Jefferson had the vision to see that the form of the compromise embodied in the Federal Constitu-

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tion opened up a perspective more glorious than had ever been conceived by either the simon-pure states-right democrats or the monarchist nationalists. The democratic features of the new federal Government were a guarantee that the West would be opened for settlement. This would mean that democracy would inevitably grow and expand along with the nation. It opened up the perspective of a continental democracy—something that made all of the little local democracies of past history pale into insignificance by comparison. On the other hand, he saw that just those democratic provisions which would open the West would enable the nation to become not the European type of small nation, which was all for which the monarchist merchants could dream, but something new under the sun—a continental nation, *rich and strong beyond compare* with anything that had preceded.

It was just this continental character of the American nation which prevented the formation within North America of innumerable small nations or colonies whose antagonisms would have given rise to wars like those of Europe. It was Jefferson's program, therefore, which secured that relative peace which America as a Continental power has enjoyed throughout the major portion of its history.

It is a point worth pondering on that it was Jefferson's *democratic* program which made America the strong capitalist power it became. Had the capitalists of 1781-7 and their most vociferous spokesmen for several decades thereafter been able to achieve their own program, America, even if it had preserved its independence, which was unlikely, would have remained a small and weak nation. Bordered by rival powers, constantly embroiled in wars, thus it would have then become necessarily a second or third-rate power at best. For his continental vision, which sent out the Lewis and Clark expedition and which included the prediction of *transcontinental highways*, Jefferson was derided in his day as a Utopian pipe-dreaming philosopher, just as the fascist reactionaries of our times go into coarse peals of forced laughter over the global thinking of Jefferson's successor, President Roosevelt. Yet it is clear to all today that Jefferson's wisdom was more realistic than that of the "hard-headed, practical" men who scoffed at his vision, which was derived from a penetrating analysis of actual conditions.

* * *

Jefferson supported those who "drafted" Washington against his will to become our first President. Our country needed Washington in 1789 just as it needs Franklin D. Roosevelt today. Washington, for personal reasons, was bitterly opposed to continuing in public life. He felt he had done his duty. His fame, for which he had never aspired, was established for all time to come. He was getting old, and desired an old age of quiet rest at his beloved Mount Vernon.

However, there was bitter opposition to the new government from

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both the enemies of democracy and from "leftist," sectarian democrats. There was not another man in the country who could rally universal respect as could George Washington. For the sake of stabilizing the new government, the primary need of the hour, Jefferson joined with his countrymen in drafting the Great Patriot to continue his work in setting the new national state on its course.

For the same reason, Jefferson consented to become Secretary of State. Jefferson hated public life. There is not the slightest doubt about this. He was a philosopher and scholar, who loved seclusion close to nature in the bosom of his personal friends where he could study and think. Yet throughout his life, from a deep sense of public responsibility, he consented to sacrifice his deepest personal desires for the sake of the new democratic state, which he considered "the world's best hope."

It was just because of the complete absence in Jefferson of any personal ambition, just because he accepted office from a sense of public duty and devotion to principle, that he was such a consistently true representative of the people. Nothing personal, no class prejudice ever interfered to deflect him from the course which a purely objective analysis revealed to be the correct course from the standpoint of the needs of the people. As a philosopher, he proceeded always with that serenity and tranquility which are the product of the objectivity of the scientific mind. The deep calm which one senses today in the character of Joseph Stalin was manifested in a number of respects by Thomas Jefferson. In each instance the inner calm, revealed even in the heat of battles, is the product of the clear, cold light of science.

When the falsely-named Federalist Party of Alexander Hamilton launched its bitter onslaught against the people, there were those who cried that the party conflict launched by Jefferson against the enemies of democracy, who were secretly scheming to undermine the Government of the United States and to establish a monarchy, was disrupting unity. In the same way, there are those today who for reactionary and fascist aims seek to distort the slogan of national unity by attempting to "broaden" it to include fascists and defeatists so as to render the slogan meaningless.

Jefferson had no illusions about pseudo-unity with the foes of national unity. He was the first to show that the so-called Federalists were not Federalists at all, that they were not seeking to unite but to divide the nation by their ruthless policies.

Jefferson showed that they were driving America toward civil war, that their monarchist schemes were undermining our government, "the sheet anchor of safety," and that their hatred of the American form of government was leading toward alliance with the foreign foe. He showed that this same hatred was leading them to seek war against Revolutionary France, which was erecting a similar form of government and which was at war with the enemies of America and thus defending America as well as herself.

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By his actions, Jefferson proved that he had no false abstract conception of national unity, but saw that it was possible of achievement only through uncompromising struggle against its foes. Jefferson was a master of compromise with all those truly devoted to the nation's safety, but he was as uncompromising as steel against those whose policies led the nation toward disaster.

While Jefferson was the specific representative of the small farmers and desired an agrarian democracy as the most complete form of democracy then conceivable, he did not attempt to unite in his party only farmers and their artisan allies, but members of all classes, even merchants, who were prepared to defend our democratic form of government and to take steps toward national defense by resisting British aggression and by giving aid to our sister Republic in France which was fighting Britain. This—and this only—was the issue between the parties led by Jefferson and Hamilton.

That Jefferson's policy was the only truly national policy finally became clear even to Hamilton. Bitter enemy of democracy that he was, Hamilton was a patriot in that he desired to see a strong, independent, capitalist America. But he learned to his chagrin that a strong, independent, capitalist America could not exist except as a democratic America likewise. He saw his own party take the fatal steps toward treason as it rallied around Aaron Burr. Hamilton preferred a democracy, much as he hated it, to loss of independence; but most of his followers preferred to return to a colonial status under Britain rather than to live in a democracy. Thus, Hamilton lost the leadership of his own party and found himself reluctantly advising the election of Jefferson in 1801.

It was these events which led Hamilton to remark in the years after Jefferson's election, "This America was not made for me." He learned that it was Jefferson, not himself, who was the true representative of America. His own party was moving toward undoing the work of the Revolution in which he had participated so ardently. He found himself a man without a party, a fate he well deserved for the arrogance with which he had once sought to ride roughshod over the people. It was finally his efforts to stem the growth of treason in his party that cost him his life.

When Aaron Burr fired to kill in his duel with Hamilton, thus violating the gentlemanly code which required that duelists fire in the air, his pistol shot served notice on all patriots, regardless of class or distinction, that the Federalist Party was not for them. Aaron Burr took over, and the Federalist patriots began leaving their party in horror and disgust at the character of their colleagues. They went to Jefferson's party, thus confirming what Hamilton had learned at the cost of his life.

The full meaning of Hamilton's tragic fate and the fate of his party has not been sufficiently digested in our country. It is among the capi-

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talists of our country especially that there should be reflection on Hamilton's fate. He has always been their hero, whom they have followed and emulated. But they do not desire to follow him in his failure and defeat. They should study the cause of his defeat and think about it.

There are certain corrupt, gangster capitalists today, pro-fascist, who are following in the footsteps of Aaron Burr. The patriotic capitalists do not want to fall like Hamilton before their pistol shots. Yet that is not inconceivable when one considers the fate of patriotic capitalists in Europe, where the Quislings and Lavals are the Aaron Burrs of today. Had Hamilton learned his lesson in time he might have abandoned his fateful and ultimately reactionary policy. It was a blunder which led to his fate. He might have united, as did John Quincy Adams, with Jefferson and helped put the Burrs behind bars. That would have saved his country and his class much trouble.

When Jefferson took office, he displayed again his marvelous capacity to find, with the proper flexibility, those policies which would unify the country with the greatest strength around the republican program, through which alone lay the salvation of America. His First Inaugural Address is a document which should be deeply studied. Browder's recent speceh on Teheran is fully in the tradition of that great speech. The Federalist traitors would have loved blood and thunder against all the "rich and well-born." It would have deepened that civil strife through which they sought to achieve their ends.

But Jefferson did not give them blood and thunder. He gave them no occasion for launching the charge of party persecution. He stretched out the hand of conciliation to all Federalists who would truly accept the majority decision of the people. The real traitors were flabbergasted, while the patriotic Federalists began to see how they had been deceived and misled. The demagogy of the traitors was exposed, and they began to lose their mass following. Jefferson's policy united the country as never before and thus set it on that course which, in spite of the traitors, enabled us to triumph in the War of 1812. There were "radicals" in Jefferson's party who did not understand his policy and a few became renegades, joining the traitors. But life proved to the majority that Jefferson was right.

Defeatists today would love messages of blood and thunder from Communists and other leaders of labor against all capitalists. But they are not going to get the messages they want. As Browder has pointed out, the dividing line is for or against the program of Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill as outlined at Teheran.

All Americans must unite who say that along that path lie victory and a peace that will lead America out of the morass into which we fell after 1929 and along the pathway to peaceful and prosperous development, such as that Jefferson led us to follow under other conditions. All those who oppose Teheran are

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on the path that leads to treason.

We are at war and we have a peace to win. The American people will use their fire only against the enemy. Traitors are in the enemy camp, and they will feel the wrath of the people. All others will work together. We are being taught by life how to work together. And we have the example of the great American, Thomas Jefferson, who, for the cause of democracy, knew how to work with all classes, to forge national unity.

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TEHERAN AND THE YOUNG GENERATION

BY CARL ROSS AND JAMES WEST

THE Declaration of Teheran represents the key to the future for the young generation. It is in understanding, supporting and helping to carry out the principles of Teheran that the young generation has the means for solving its problems, both for today and tomorrow.

With the guarantee of military victory given by the Teheran agreement for the second front invasion of Europe in coordination with the crushing blows of the mighty Red Army, the young generation in arms now is provided with the opportunity to destroy the enemy and, in fulfilling this sacred obligation for which it donned the uniform, to win a secure future. There can be no doubt that this will be done with patriotic enthusiasm and zeal. "Peace Now" and other defeatist forces who seek to frighten youth with the prospect of high casualties in the invasion of Europe reckon without their host. Youth recognizes fully but does not fear the necessary cost of victory and peace. It was the threat of *limitless losses* and a *defeated, enslaved young generation* that would come from failure to engage the enemy in force, on time, and in full concert with our allies that alarmed large sections of the youth and increasingly impelled them to identify themselves with the pre-Teheran second front call. The youth repudiate the counsels of defeatism because they do not want the nation and their future to be the casualty, which would certainly be the case if the negotiated peace-defeatists had their way.

The first major effect of the Teheran Declaration with respect to the youth is to give the solid substance of a program for military victory to the morale of the fighting forces—a morale which, when coupled with the first-rate equipment already at hand and with their accumulated fighting experience, becomes the unbeatable combination of victory. That our military command is sensitive to this significance of these new developments is attested to by recent issues of the army magazine *Yank*, presenting the full texts of the Moscow, Cairo and Teheran conference Declarations and an extended authoritative description of the role of Tito's liberation forces in Yugoslavia.

But the morale and will to victory of the youth, both on the fighting and home fronts, are based upon the prospects for the future as well as the guarantee of the quickest possible victory.

It is common knowledge that the

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principal concern of the men in the armed forces has been the two-fold question of how soon the war can be ended so that they may return to their homes and jobs, and the question of what kind an America they will return to. Superficial observers who do not find the men in the armed forces discussing post-war blueprints or holding "round-table" discussions have concluded that our youth in uniform are not concerned with these matters. What they fail to see is that precisely this absence of blueprints for the future is an indication of the practical, realistic light in which the servicemen think of the future and not of a lack of concern.

Teheran is answering their questions by declaring that the war will be won in the shortest possible time and that post-war America carries with it the promise of a future such as no previous young generation ever experienced. A future of unprecedented opportunity for education, training and employment in practically all fields of constructive endeavor—such is the prospect before the young generation.

* * *

For a long time there have been discussions in all youth organizations about the future. These discussions have tended to take place in the abstract, unrelated to the real problems of the world, and usually have been a forum for projecting the pet world-problem-solving panaceas and blueprints of one or another individual or group; and worse yet they have often been a convenient cloak for the preaching of pacifism and defeatism. Teheran makes it possible to put the solid foundation of Mother Earth under these useful discussions and to once and for all put an end to a state of affairs in which post-war discussion has too often been a vehicle of defeatism. It is clear that if clarity and agreement are achieved among the youth with respect to its future, major doubts and uncertainties standing in the way of common action today will have been removed. The Communists should fully enter into these discussions, presenting to the consideration of the youth the powerful insight for the solution of its problems provided in Earl Browder's epic contributions, *Victory—and After* and *Teheran and America.*

The urgent need for bringing this clarity to the youth is at once seen in the absence as yet of full unity of the young generation. For it is clear that if the leaderships of the various youth organizations were cognizant of the hard fact that the alternative to Teheran is disaster and the end of any worthwhile future for youth, they would possess the necessary resolution to bring about speedily the widest activity, cooperation and unity of youth in support of the nation's best interests as expressed at Teheran.

How great the need is for such action and unity can be seen from the fact that in many important states the vote of the young citizens can determine the outcome of the crucial 1944 elections. In numerous ways the men at the fighting fronts have made it abundantly clear that they expect the home front to elect a President and Congress commit-

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ted to continuing President Roosevelt's policies. A recently publicized poll among servicemen in the South Pacific indicated overwhelming sentiment in favor of re-election of the President. The sentiment among the youth for a fourth term is growing as indicated by a number of polls recently conducted among college students. Yet the absence of a sufficient degree of effective action and unity among youth can negate this decisive voice in this most important of election years.

The organized youth movement has a most effective and even decisive contribution to make in these elections by finding the necessary means to bring up to date and put into action its traditional non-partisan policy of citizenship training.

Unfortunately "citizenship training" has too often been an abstract conception seen only as a position of neutrality toward candidates and issues. Where leaders of the youth organizations have concerned themselves with electoral struggles their activity has been confined in the main to presenting the facts as they understood them about issues and candidates, leaving the individual members to determine their stand independently. This concept of citizenship training is a good one, insofar as it is effectively carried through and is developed so as to contribute to advancing the patriotic and anti-fascist understanding of youth. Given this approach there need be no doubt about youth making a correct choice.

But this implies that the understanding of non-partisanship be brought up to the needs of an America at war for its life against the Axis. A policy which draws no distinction between the defeatists and other advocates of negotiated peace and surrender, on the one hand, and resolute, win-the-war, pro-Teheran forces on the other, is not compatible with democratic citizenship. It plays into the hands of the most reactionary narrow partisan interests which today menace the unity and victory of the nation.

In fact, the development of effective pro-Teheran youth unity rests on recognizing and exposing the defeatists and fifth columnists of all kinds at work among the youth: the racists who use the situation created by growing juvenile delinquency as a vehicle for fomenting anti-Negro and anti-Jewish strife and disunity among youth: the "Peace Now" Youth Committee for Democracy group which works for negotiated peace and strives to conceal its collaboration with the worst exponents of racist ideas by a demagogic pretext of fighting for Negro rights. By no stretch of the imagination can the rights of democracy and free speech be extended to these defeatists and fifth columnists. A whole number of communities and colleges face the compelling necessity to decide once and for all that a conception of non-partisan citizenship does not mean indifference to the fate of the nation; that if America is to live, the Gerald L. K. Smiths, the McWilliamses and the Hartmanns must go; that it is necessary to close ranks and drive these enemy agents and defeatists from our midst!

The accepted policy of the organized youth movement could readily be transformed into a non-partisan

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program of education and citizenship training with positive results. This requires, among other things, a close association with labor to strengthen the ability of youth and its organizations to influence public affairs and to participate effectively in the growing movement for the re-election of Roosevelt and the election of a Congress responsive to the needs of the nation's victory drive. The general weakness of the youth movement in this respect is to be seen most sharply in the lack of an effective degree of united youth action in support of the Green-Lucas soldier vote bill, with the single notable exception of the American Youth for Democracy, which has conducted an exemplary campaign and helped to stimulate broad local action on this issue.

The battle to secure the vote for servicemen remains one of the basic issues before the nation around which the broadest and most effective action is called for, an issue involving such elementary democratic rights that no patriotic youth group can justify a lack of support and energetic action.

Particularly urgent as the paramount task of today in preparation for the elections, is the duty of labor and the youth organizations to guarantee a full youth vote. Certainly, youth organizations can find a common basis for cooperation in the all-important job of undertaking to get every young man and woman citizen registered to vote. Wherever youth organizations have approached labor for cooperation for this purpose the response has indicated the possibilities for further cooperation on this specific question, particularly if labor takes the initiative.

The need for and possibility of uniting the young generation is further to be found in the common post-war problems of youth. In the absence of adequate activity and unity among the youth organizations and with labor and other groups, the way is open for Joe McWilliams, Gerald L. K. Smith and other fifth-column defeatists to flood the nation with all kinds of extravagant demands and promises for demobilized servicemen, none of which can be achieved, and all of which are advanced to attack the Administration's practical proposals for the post-war period. Through such demagogy these fascists are attempting to win leadership over the youth and in the first place over the returned veterans.

It is only in unity among themselves and in cooperation with labor, management and the Administration that youth will find the means for solving its post-war problems. There is on the part of the entire nation an unprecedented concern with the special problems of youth. This is manifested in the widespread discussion on the problems of juvenile delinquency and in the widespread discussion on such post-war problems as veterans' rehabilitation, employment and education, all of which are youth problems in the most direct sense. Thus, for example, the American Legion has shown a deep concern with the question of delinquency, while both the Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars are actively working for legislation with regard to post-war employment

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and education of returned servicemen and for post-war compulsory universal military training. The organized labor movement, both A. F. of L. and C.I.O., reflect the same concern with war and post-war youth problems. A series of articles in recent issues of the A. F. of L. *Federationist* point out the need for a community program for youth as the best solution to juvenile delinquency. The C.I.O. post-war program correctly concludes that post-war employment for the youth and returning veterans will only be assured by the guarantee of full employment and such special steps by the unions as the waiving of initiation payments for ex-servicemen. An increasing number of business, fraternal, civic and community organizations share the view that post-war America must provide jobs and education to its youth. It is recognized as a national concern by President Roosevelt and the Administration whose constructive proposals are embodied in multitude of bills in Congress. The reports of the National Economic Resources Planning Board and the Senate Truman Committee, and particularly the Baruch Report provide both an over-all framework within which these problems of youth can be met and numerous specific recommendations for action.

It is now necessary to guarantee the adoption of these proposals, especially through action by Congress, by helping to bring about the utmost unity among youth themselves in concert with labor, the veterans' organizations, management and the Administration. By following this path, the youth movement can help strengthen national unity and find the only effective basis for solving youth's problems for generations to come.

* * *

The projecting by Communists of a program for continued national unity in working for orderly post-war reconstruction and social progress within the framework of the system of "private enterprise" in the United States will certainly help to remove one of the principal impediments to full unity among the patriotic youth.

Misconception concerning the post-war policies of the Communists and the prospects of establishing enduring cooperation with them have for a long time been one of the principal obstacles in the way of all-inclusive cooperation and unity among the organized youth. Nearly two years ago, Joseph Lash, known then as an "Administration youth leader," writing in the magazine *Threshold,* expressed the judgment that Communists were energetically working in common with the overwhelming majority of youth for victory. He thus frankly recognized the basis for and possibility of cooperation and unity on a win-the-war program between Communists and non-Communists. However, instead of concluding that such unity is desirable and necessary, Lash drew the opposite conclusion. He gave as his reason the opinion that such war-time collaboration with Communists would greatly strengthen the position of the Communists among the youth and then forecast

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that such unity would inevitably come to an end with the ending of the war, leaving the Communists in a position of decisive leadership among the youth.

This proposition bears examination from several angles. By what rule of logic are the youth supposed to turn automatically to Communist leadership when there is an effective united Communist and non-Communist unity among the youth? Do these non-Communist individuals so utterly lack confidence in their own merits as leaders and in their own principles? They often complain, as their justification, that the Communists are "skillful organizers" and "indefatigable workers." But the Communists will be the first to admit that they do not have and desire no monopoly over these qualities. Obviously, these are at best subterfuges concealing other and more fundamental problems. The youth will follow those who, irrespective of their political affiliation, most effectively work to achieve the mobilization of the youth for victory and peace. The youth desire unity and will in their overwhelming majority be won to follow *only* a united leadership. And if that united leadership contains both Communists and non-Communists working harmoniously and with equal effectiveness, it is only logical to suppose that the prestige and following of the non-Communist majority will expand most greatly.

Those who still think as Lash thought a couple of years ago are not improving the situation by themselves forfeiting their leadership among the youth through self-imposed procrastination and inertia, nor are they enhancing their position by Red-baiting. Witness the present position of the United States Student Assembly. Following as it does the precepts laid down by Lash of trying to build a movement precluding unity with Communists, it finds itself unable to live up to its early propitious beginnings. In fact, it should be said that the honest supporters and followers of the Roosevelt Administration are finding themselves squeezed out of leadership, slowly but surely, by a handful of Social-Democrats and individuals influenced by Trotskyism with all its baneful anti-victory and anti-United Nations influences. Such is always the consequence of Red-baiting policies; those who use it find themselves to be its inevitable victims.

But whatever justification could be found in the past to justify fears that unity established in the war in support of war policies would explode with the post-war era has now lost all foundation. To be consistent with their own statement regarding the possibility of unity during the war being hindered only by the uncertainty as to what Communists would do after the war, these youth leaders should now acknowledge and work for that unity, for any doubts with regard to the future position of the Communists can now be removed.

The policies projected by the Moscow-Teheran conferences are not a basis for wartime unity alone. In fact, if full wartime unity of the youth is to be established it must

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rest on the mutual confidence that this unity will be extended into the post-war era.

So completely do the Communists among the youth identify themselves with all the aspirations and aims of the vast majority of young people, and so prepared are they to submerge all partisan policies in the interests of the common effort to win victory and secure post-war worlds, that they have concluded that there is no need for a special Communist organization among the youth. They have completely and unconditionally dissolved the Young Communist League, which was an organization based upon a Marxist program. Young Communists are fully and unconditionally prepared to associate themselves with the organized youth on a non-partisan basis around a program expressing the minimum objective of winning victory and building a peaceful post-war world of orderly social progress which means the reconstruction and democratic development of this nation within the existing social system. The Communists, who generally do not project the issue of socialism in any such way as to injure national unity behind the perspectives of Teheran, certainly will not among the youth project any partisan policies, programs, or organizations, now or in the post-war period.

The Communists were among the first to suggest that a youth organization founded on the non-partisan principle of collaboration between Communists and non-Communists around a broad democratic, anti-fascist program is needed. In fact, the question of how such an organization could be established was precisely the main topic of discussion among young Communists in the period preceding the convention at which the Young Communist League was dissolved. Finding that at that time apparently other forces were not prepared to take the initiative in forming such a united organization, the Y.C.L. at first considered the possibility that a change in the name and a broadening of the program of the Y.C.L. would be a step in that direction. This proposal to change the name and character of the Y.C.L. was withdrawn by the young Communists themselves and a proposal adopted to dissolve the Y.C.L. unconditionally, since a period of discussion concerning the need for a new united youth organization revealed a broad group of non-Communist youth prepared to associate themselves with, and to initiate, such a project.

For the Communists to have insisted that these non-Communists join an organization formed by changing the name and program of the Y.C.L. would not have resulted in such an organization as the American Youth for Democracy. The unilateral action of no single group could accomplish that end; of necessity it could only be realized by the voluntary joint action of Communists and non-Communists on a non-partisan basis. When the Young Communist League dissolved itself it helped both Communists and non-Communists to find the way to that free association on a non-partisan basis that is the premise on which the American Youth for Democracy was formed.

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The fact is established, and it is a fact that will grow in importance, that this new organization is proving to be a successful association of Communist with non-Communist youth. Its growing influence and membership are a testimonial to its effectiveness. The lessons to be drawn are an open book from which all can learn who are honestly striving to find the way to cooperation and unity for the perspectives opened up by Teheran.

The proponents of the proposition that Communists and non-Communists cannot engage in fruitful collaboration find themselves in a somewhat similar position to the backwoodsman who upon visiting the city zoo and seeing a giraffe for the first time protested "There ain't no such animal." But there is! And those who refuse to see it are compelled to resort to dangerous subterfuges to conceal the true character of their policies. Recently, for instance, the A.Y.D. revealed that the leaders of the United States Student Assembly had rejected an offer of cooperation from the A.Y.D., not on the grounds of any lack of common basis for such cooperation, but solely because they said the A.Y.D. is "undemocratic." Why? Apparently because it has Communists among its members and avowedly repudiates all Red-baiting.

The U.S.S.A. leaders are, we are sure, willing enough to cooperate with a union like the I.L.G.W.U., which under the thumb of Dubinsky enjoys no inner democracy whatsoever; nor can they even maintain that their own policy of excluding so-called "Communist groups" from the U.S.S.A. is "democratic." They are not actually passing judgment on the degree of democracy within the A.Y.D., which they know to be constructed on thoroughly democratic principles. They are attempting to make it appear that the association of Communists and non-Communists in any organization is inherently "undemocratic" or anti-democratic in character.

In these days certainly the test of one's virtue is in deeds—and measured by that standard, the A.Y.D., by its vigorous championing of the servicemen's vote and of inter-racial unity and all of its actions since its inception, is proving the consistent and vigorous character of its defense of democracy and democratic principles.

By the same standard of judgment that the U.S.S.A. leaders use, they should likewise spurn Churchill's admonition that it is necessary to cooperate with Tito's provisional government which is the most effective defender of democracy in Yugoslavia because it has found the way to unity of Communists and non-Communists. They will find themselves rejecting the French Committee of National Liberation because de Gaulle has found it necessary to collaborate with French Communists. The U.S.S.A. leaders cannot brush aside and ignore the lessons of modern history that Communists are defenders of democracy and unity of Communists and non-Communists provides the most reliable bulwark of democracy and liberation, as tested in the experience of all the United Nations.

The Communists are confident

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that the need for unity is so all-compelling that every honest and consistent anti-fascist patriot in the responsible leadership of the youth movement will learn this lesson sooner or later. If the Communists direct consideration to these problems it is because they are motivated by this urgent need to strengthen national unity, seek above all to resolve differences, minimize strains, and assist in finding common areas of agreement for joint cooperation among all pro-Teheran forces, no matter how indistinctly they may as yet see the path to victory and the future.

Certainly, there are innumerable areas of agreement upon which all anti-fascist and democratic forces among the youth can find common ground. If incorrect attitudes toward the Communists still stand in the way of all-inclusive unity on all basic questions of the war and the post-war period, the Communists will not make their elimination a condition for whatever measure of cooperation or joint action that can be realized. Granting an anti-Communist mote in the eye induces partial blindness, it is still inconceivable that the blindness is so far gone as to impel refusal to work with Communists for the Red Cross blood bank, war bond sales, salvage, or other simple patriotic activities. As a matter of fact, daily experience in innumerable communities shows that this reasoning of a small number of youth leaders is not shared by the overwhelming majority of young people and hundreds of their honest, intelligent non-Communist leaders. And surely even in the absence of full cooperation there is no reason why each separate youth organization cannot promote the fullest self-activity on such crucial matters as the soldier vote, ending Jim-Crow in the armed forces, anti-poll tax activity, and many other vital problems before the nation.

* * *

The post-war period can be replete with possibilities for the more complete realization of youth's wholesome and constructive aims. In the early 'thirties, mass unemployment, lack of opportunity and perspective for youth tended to create fertile ground for character-destruction through the cynicism and skepticism upon which fascist ideology breeds. That American youth did not succumb to these influences, never surrendered their ideals, and emerged as the staunch fighting generation of this war is testimonial to their inherent splendid democratic character. But the years ahead with their great promise can create the conditions under which there will be an unprecedented flowering of all that is healthy and conducive to building sound character among youth.

The Communists will make their distinct contribution to the capacity of this young generation to fight for and realize this future by bringing to an ever-wider circle of young people that strength of character that comes with Marxist understanding. For Marxist education, character-building in the spirit of socialism, inculcates true love of country, aspiration toward fuller de-

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mocracy, the striving to attain the best hopes and dreams of mankind. It forges those qualities of resolution, consistency and clarity through which the masses of the people, including the youth, can solve their problems, above all the problems of victory and post-war security. This great educational role of the Communist organization, made possible by the silence of Marxism-Leninism, is its special contribution to strengthening national unity.

The proposal for changes in the name of the Communist organization and for certain organizational adjustments will be conducive to multiplying the effectiveness of such necessary Marxist educational work. The adoption of this proposal will facilitate the fuller integration of the Communists into the democratic progressive coalition. It will enhance the political-educational role of the Communists within national unity both for the war and post-war period.

The task of character building and education among the youth is directly related to the fight for correct policies and national unity. The youth movement is continually being subjected to the strains of partisanship and the work of reactionary influences which can create moods of pessimism and defeatism among sections of the youth who have not firmly grasped the meaning of the perspectives that lie ahead.

Probably no single issue presents this problem so sharply as the proposal for universal, compulsory post-war military training. We witness two extremes of opposition to this proposal. On the one hand, there is the view, influenced by pacifism, which with empty rhetoric embraces Teheran to its bosom and proclaims "all problems are now solved!" Starting with the groundless premise that Teheran is the panacea for a milk-and-honey world in which peace and collective security do not have to be buttressed by readiness to use arms against any new threat of aggression, they indignantly want to know why anybody dares to menace that dream-world by proposing military training for youth! Fashioning the world and everyone in their own image, they shout, "let us disarm!" as the way to realize Teheran.

Not only would this not be the way to realize Teheran, it would be the way to destroy that concord. Refusing to learn the lessons of this disastrous war, these people propose that upon victory the "welcome mat" to new aggressions be placed outside the door of the United States and the United Nations by a relapse into blissful moral and military unpreparedness. They ignore the fact that the strength of the Teheran agreement lies precisely in its enforcement by the combination of the world's most powerful economic, political *and* military countries.

The other view is influenced by the habitual skeptics, whose doubts sprout faster than the proverbial mushroom. This school of thought says, "Teheran has solved nothing. It is a good Declaration, but! There are too many difficulties. Will it work? How can we be sure of anything?" Those young people who are influenced by Social-Democracy and *PM* liberalism find themselves in the clouds of exuberance on

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Tuesdays and in the depths of despair on Thursdays. Under the stimulus of the doubt-sprouters, they oppose post-war military training "because there is no assurance that Teheran will be realized, and, therefore, of the purpose for which universal military service will be used!"

This point of view sees only the difficulties and obstacles in the way of victory and enduring peace. Failing to see the wood for the trees, it so completely exaggerates the weaknesses and inconsistencies in Administration policy as to overlook and even negate the basic direction of that policy which is consonant with the best interests of the nation. Permitting themselves to be beset by these over-riding doubts, these young people fail to understand that the perspectives of Teheran can and will be realized if all necessary measures to guarantee Teheran, including the development of military literacy among the youth, are carried out.

From apparently opposite premises, these two views come to the same opposition to military training. In both instances, it is due to the inability or unwillingness to understand the simple truth expressed so well by the famous Communist writer Ilya Ehrenburg, that "strength and peacefulness run well in harness."

The influences of pacifism, pessimism, defeatism and other vagaries upon the youth tend to weaken national unity by inducing indecision, complacency, and wishful thinking in place of scientific analysis.

The Communist organization has a most important patriotic task to perform in the education of the young generation. It is a task of first-rate importance to the morale and character development of youth, to strengthening the anti-fascist consistency and patriotic resolution of young people as an integral part of strengthening youth unity within the framework of national unity.

Through their own daily experiences an ever-larger number of youth turn to Marxism precisely because Marxism is proving itself entirely consonant with youth's aspirations; because it is more and more being seen as a dynamic, creative, democratic force enabling growing numbers to stand firm in the face of "the winds of circumstance," and as a weapon for conquering the future that awaits youth.

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THE POLISH QUESTION*

EVER since the battle between the Red Army and the German fascists began to draw quickly nearer to Polish territory, the Polish question has become a permanent feature in the world press.

However, past experience often is not taken into account. The interests of the Polish people, and the policy of Poland, which regained her statehood in 1918, should have relied above all on a sober estimate of her geographical position. Her policy should have taken into account the concrete historical situation which was determined by the fact that at the time of the restoration of Poland, tsarist Russia was replaced by the new Soviet Power, which from the day of its birth has stretched out a hand of friendship and aid to the Polish people.

It must be remembered that it was the victory of the Soviet revolution in Russia which proclaimed the right of peoples to self-determination and abolished all agreements concerning the division of old Poland, thus creating the most important precondition for the revival of Poland's state independence.

The western neighbor of the post-Versailles Poland, the German imperialist vulture, immediately after its defeat began energetic preparations for revenge, and its aggressive plans were directed primarily to the Slav east.

But in the east Poland acquired as a neighbor the Soviet Union which had liquidated completely the imperialist tendencies of tsarist Russia and realized the boldest ideals of national and social freedom. The Soviet Union made the struggle for peaceful collaboration of the peoples against international brigandage and imperialist aggression the cornerstone of its foreign policy.

It would seem that in this historic situation, the selection of a foreign policy presented no difficulties whatever to the Polish state. Only the policy closest to collaboration and friendship with the Soviet Union could secure for Poland the necessary stability and strength in her defense against the German *Drang Nach Osten.*

It is, however, a known fact that the ruling circles of post-Versailles Poland chose a different way. To begin with, they swooped down like jackals upon the youthful Soviet Republic, taking advantage of its temporary weakening as a result of the many years of war and intervention, to seize the age-old territories of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples.

After this, Poland's rulers converted the country into an arena of constant intrigues and provocations

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against the Soviet Union. Blinded by their anti-Sovietism, they sacrificed Poland's independence and liquidated her self-sufficiency long before the collapse of the Polish state.

At first Poland's rulers placed themselves at the service of the reactionary circles of the victorious powers acting as initiators of their intrigues against the Soviet Union. Later, after Hitler's advent to power in Germany, they fell in with his predatory plans calculating to share in the spoils accruing from fascist Germany's attack on the Soviet Union.

This blind hostility toward the Soviet Union was not only the greatest stupidity of the Polish ruling circles but also the greatest of crimes aginst the Polish people and the Polish state.

Unfortunately for the country and the people, there was no force in the arena of official Polish politics capable of withstanding and opposing this policy so suicidal for Poland.

All sections of Poland's ruling clique at that time, from the open Black Hundreds to the people acting under the banner of "the Polish Socialists," spread through the country the poison of chauvinism and the stupefying illusions of the imperialist gentry's plans for the creation of a "Poland from coast to coast."

Poland's antagonistic foreign policy toward the U.S.S.R. is closely connected with the domination tendencies and reactionary elements in Poland's home policy. In addition, the inhuman exploitation of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peasantry has formed a part of the general system of oppression and disfranchisement characteristic of the political system of pre-war Poland.

The rulers and gentry of Poland—all these Pilsudskiites and rival reactionary groups—were blind to what was taking place before their eyes. They did not see how the temporary weakening of the Soviet country has long since receded into the realm of the past.

They were equally blind to the fact that their anti-democratic gamblers' policy has undermined the internal strength of the Polish state, increasing the danger from without. Rejecting all of Moscow's offers to organize a rebuff to the aggressor, Poland could obtain no effective help from anywhere when she was attacked by the Hitlerite hordes.

At the same time, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian and Byelorussian peasants were mobilized into the Polish army. Smarting under a twofold yoke—national and social—oppression from the Polish landlords and gendarmes, they saw no sense in sacrificing their lives for the preservation of the Polish gentry state.

The defenders of Warsaw and Westerplatte paid with their blood for the incompetence of the Polish rulers, for betrayal of national interests for the sake of the greedy ambitions of the Polish feudal landlords in the border regions.

Thus, the collapse of the Polish state early in September of 1939 was by no means an accident. It was inevitable as a result of the entire policy of the Polish ruling circles pursued throughout two decades of the lifespan of post-Versailles Poland.

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True, Poland was not the only victim of Hitlerite aggression. It is known, for example, that Hitler seized Czechoslovakia with even smaller effort than he did Poland. But no honest person will try to assert that Czechoslovakia's ill fate was determined by the policy pursued by that country.

Czechoslovakia had no borderland feudal lords as the bulwark of blackest reaction. The democratic sections which determined Czechoslovakia's policy in general understood the danger threatening their country from Germany. The Czechs wanted to play their part in the struggle against the German *Drang Nach Osten*. It was primarily as a result of Chamberlain and Daladier and their Munich betrayal that the Germans succeeded in effecting the seizure of Czechoslovakia.

* * *

The lessons of Poland's history as a whole, and of post-Versailles Poland in particular, lead to the irrevocable conclusion that only a policy of friendship and collaboration with the Soviet Union can secure for Poland independent statehood and a corresponding place in the family of democratic peoples.

In friendship with the Soviet Union, in readiness to struggle jointly with the U.S.S.R. against every attempt for the revival of a German *Drang Nach Osten* lies the real guarantee of the revival and progress of the independent Polish state and the transformation of Poland from a breeding ground of intrigue and provocation, pregnant with war, into one of the bastions of firm, lasting peace and all-European security.

No wonder that all the reactionary forces rallied around the Polish emigré government and supporting it are fighting against such a solution to the Polish question. These "rulers" who have learned nothing from history are playing a double game, being in word Hitler's enemies, but in deed his accomplices planning the revival of a pro-fascist Poland of Pilsudskiites and Becks.

These bankrupt politicians, isolated from the country and people, continue to spin anti-Soviet intrigues, hoping thereby to gain favor with the reactionary circles in Allied countries and secure their support.

These selfish adventurers are not at all concerned with the fact that Poland's return to the fatal policy of the Pilsudskiites and Becks, as well as the revival of this policy in the activities of the Sosnkowskis and the Kukiels would be a monstrous calamity first and foremost for Poland and the Polish people and then for all Europe.

Some of Poland's new well-wishers express hypocritical "fear" that the recognition of the necessity for Poland's friendly relations with the Soviet Union means the intervention of the Soviet Union in the internal affairs of the Polish state.

Some circles of the democratic states voice "apprehensions" lest the friendly policy toward the Soviet Union prove tantamount to giving up "Poland's independence and self-sufficiency."

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It is hard to tell what these and similar arguments contain most: obvious shortsightedness or disguised calculations.

Indeed, the same circles regard as a natural necessity the friendly policy of the Latin American countries toward the U.S.A. and western European democratic countries toward Great Britain. Apparently these circles as yet are unable to change their habit of using two different yardsticks with regard to their own country and the Soviet Union.

It is high time to understand that the Soviet Union has become a major factor in world politics in the interests of the democratic countries. Its might has been further strengthened in single combat with the strongest enemy. In battering the Hitlerite hordes, the Red Army is bringing liberation to the Polish people.

The "Polish question" now stands thus: the Polish people must find in their midst new creative forces capable of understanding the lessons of history and pursuing a line free from the fatal mistakes of the past; capable of correctly estimating and honestly serving the true interests of the Polish people—a free independent, democratic Poland.

Only thus will a regenerated, reconstituted, independent strong Poland based on friendship with the Soviet Union and other democratic countries commence its march on the high road of state and national progress.

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GERMANY'S DECLINE*

BY DR. EDUARD BENES
President of Czechoslovakia

IT IS no longer a secret that the so-called Second Front and the so-called *invasion of the European continent* are agreed upon by the Allies, that the preparations therefore are in more than full swing, and that Germany will soon be attacked from all sides. The Allies do not underestimate the present strength of Germany and know that a great struggle lies before them which will demand many sacrifices. However, it is no longer a secret not only that Germany cannot win the war materially, but that any prolongation, although it will cost the Allies much, will signify for Germany an incredible material and physical exhaustion, spiritual disintegration, economic and social collapse and practically the total extinction of her present young generation, an extinction which will be all the more complete the longer the war continues and the nearer we approach the frontiers of Germany or actually penetrate into her territory. Today the sacrifices of Germany are mounting on a geometrical scale. We are approaching those months of the war which for Germany, if she does not capitulate in time, will bring about a terrible collapse of the state and finally a national disaster which will be on a universal scale and which will extend to a whole series of further German generations.

The elements responsible for this approaching German catastrophe are pan-German National-Socialism and the Prussian army, two of the greatest European evils of the last few centuries. Both of them—*equally culpably*—began this terrible war. In my opinion a nation which has been responsible for two such abominable evils merits the desolation which will fall upon it after the present war and really deserves to undergo a great national decline for centuries to come. It is perhaps only such a collapse, as a serious punishment of its coming generation, which will teach it a lesson in its own interest and in that of the rest of the world, and at least to some degree correct its past behavior.

The present military situation of Germany is such that the Germans can carry out only a very hard defensive war, and this only for a time. In the course of this defensive action Germany can, of course,

* The present article is a condensed version of President Benes's speech delivered at the Czechoslovak State Council on February 3, and is here reprinted from the *Central European Observer* of Feb. 18, 1944.

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deal still further blows to the Allies. The Germans are reckoning with this fact and are magnifying the possibilities before them so as to produce the impression that they are able to prolong the war almost indefinitely. Thus they hope to wear out the Allies and compel them to some sort of peace negotiations. They combine this with the belief that they will succeed diplomatically in separating the Anglo-Saxon Allies from the Soviet Union. Nowadays this is just so much childishness. If any German still believes in it, then the revelations of the last war are proven, namely, that the spiritual level of the Germans as a nation has again declined, and their moral and intellectual qualities have completely broken down with the development of military events. Everything done by Germany as a nation since 1933 testifies to the fact that at the end of this terrible struggle she will head for spiritual and material collapse on a scale hardly known to past history.

* * *

When our martyrs, or those who have witnessed such martyrdoms, relate what they went through in the Pecek House in Prague, in the torture chamber of the Gestapo, in the prisons distributed about the Republic, in prisons in Berlin, in concentration camps in Dachau, Osvoczin, Buchenwald, Oranienburg, Mathausen, Ravensbruck and elsewhere, or in the course of forced labor in Germany; when an exact account is given of what the German military and Gestapo authorities did in our country with political prisoners, their families, their wives and children, of what they did with those whom they believed to be in contact with us abroad, and from whom they decided to force confessions of treachery to their own friends by torture; when our future writers describe the moral sufferings of a nation of millions which in every single individual has suffered with blood and tears the humiliation, the degradation, the moral and physical bestiality of the German domination, then will the world realize the nature of German culture since 1933, the nature of German total war and of a Germany which wished to enthrone Nazism, in the words of Hitler, for a thousand years. I repeat what I said above about the German army. No decent person can nowadays believe that the majority of the German people are still human beings. This is a terrible fact, but it is true all the same. The whole of our people must demand at the moment of victory that all this must not be forgotten and must not remain unpunished; and the whole world should swear that this *shall not remain* either forgotten or unpunished.

Since Stalingrad

Since the defeat at Stalingrad the Germans were aware that they could emerge from this war without a total catastrophe only if they were able to divide the Allies both politically and diplomatically. Hence from the spring of 1943 onwards, their propaganda raged even more furiously against the so-called danger of Bolshevism, the so-called pro-

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tection of civilization from the Soviet Union, the alarming future awaiting Europe and the world should England and America not separate from the Soviets and leave them to be destroyed by Germany or perhaps even help her to destroy them. In a disrupted Europe—particularly in states which were poisoned by fascism and semi-fascism of different types—there were in 1943 millions of people who had been rendered so blind by the crisis of the last few years and so spiritually demoralized by class, national or personal egotism, that this propaganda game continued to enjoy a certain success.

This evidently was the last desperate attempt on the part of Germany to save herself. It came—it would seem—at the right time, since it called forth an appropriate reaction. For the point was now reached when the Allies were obliged to make an attempt to discuss between themselves from the political, diplomatic and military point of view all the obscure problems of the war and unify their policy on general lines. It was necessary clearly to indicate that *only one war was being conducted* which was common to all, and that this alliance must not and would not be broken up by anybody. It was necessary to emphasize that the war solidarity was such that the Allies were not merely playing with the idea of a Second Front, that the question of the Second Front was one of joint preparation, of joint calculation, of one *joint military idea* and of joint and indivisible victory. It was further necessary to formulate in common as between the three —or four—principal war allies (Great Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States and China) the main post-war aims of a practical European and world policy, as for instance: what was to happen to Germany, how political and economic collaboration between the Great Powers was to be practically carried out after the war. How a future security system for Europe and the world was to be prepared. What was to happen to certain small states? What was to be done about so-called federal plans for Central Europe? What was the Soviet Union's own conception of its post-war situation? What would be the outcome of the Soviet-Polish dispute? etc., etc.

It was only an adequate elucidation of these concrete questions which could dispel the fears of a number of states concerning some particular revolutionary plans of the Soviet Union with regard to other parts of Europe, and definitely set at rest the minds of all the Allies in respect of German propaganda, which claimed that preparations were being made for what was alleged to be an extensive bolshevization and sovietization of Central, Southern and Western Europe.

This led to two—so far the most important—Allied Conferences: that in October, 1943, in Moscow, and that in December of the same year in Teheran—with which there was associated the British-American-Chinese Conference in Cairo at the end of November, 1943. With regard to all the questions referred to above

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as well as to various others these conferences made for a substantial clarification and rendered possible a turning point in the affairs of the Allies which had far-reaching political implications.

Moscow and Teheran

Together with the Conference in Moscow the Teheran Conference means an understanding between the three Great Powers respecting fundamental issues in relation to the war, victory and peace; further, it means that there will be no power which could break this agreement, or enable Nazism to take advantage of such discord in order to evade its destruction; and finally, in spite of difficult discussions and differences of opinion, which will certainly appear once more in connection with a number of questions, and will again cause all these states no small difficulties, in spite of differences of regimes and government systems as between the Anglo-Saxon powers and the Soviet Union, these three Great Powers—and we other Allied nations together with them—are so strongly convinced of the fundamentally united character of all our vital aims in this war that we shall do everything so that we can conduct together *one united war,* prepare *one united peace* and guarantee for a whole series of generations sincere collaboration and thereby final peace, undisturbed by the present and any possible future gangster Nazism and fascism, for our destroyed and tyrannized peoples and states, which have indeed earned this unanimously promised and guaranteed policy.

In Washington

My journey and all our conversations in Washington were mainly a public, and one might say, a demonstrative confirmation and consolidation of our official international legal position in the United States and elsewhere. Once again the fact was emphasized that the United States recognized nothing which had happened to us in 1938 and 1939, that the Republic had a full existence in an international sense, and that the Munich frontier and everything associated with it, whether it affected Slovakia, Hungary, the Sudeten Germans or anybody else, had in the eyes of the United States and the world no international validity. The question of Slovakia, the question of our Germans, the question of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, were and are all considered in Washington as being internal questions for ourselves. All our official conversations were conducted upon this basis.

In all my conversations, official and unofficial, with public and governmental personalities we always came to the conclusion that the United States had decided inflexibly and uncompromisingly to finish this war as quickly as possible with total military defeat of all the Axis states. In the United States there are differences of opinion regarding a whole number of questions, and discussion is intense, but there are no differences of opinion regarding the fact that this war must be conducted against all the Axis powers and their satellites to a victorious conclusion, and that there must be created a peace and a new legal and political

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order by which the power of the aggressors will be completely broken and peace secured for several generations. Nor are there differences of opinion regarding the fact that it is the fascist and Nazi states which are responsible for the present war, and that these governmental systems must be mercilessly destroyed and fundamentally uprooted. Finally, we all agree that the originators of this war and all the quislings of the nations great and small must be ruthlessly punished without mercy in all the different countries.

The Journey to Moscow

I had always realized that Munich and all the European disasters which followed could come about only because of Western Europe's hostility to the Soviet Union. It was clear to me that if we wished to win the second European war this attitude must be done away with. Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union was made on the assumption that the quarrel between the Russians and the rest of the world was of such a nature that Germany would succeed, whatever happened, in securing some kind of peace with Western Europe as a result of which she would gain a *free hand against the Soviets.* It was clear to me that what would have been nothing less than a world disaster could be averted only by devoted labor in securing a firm and *enduring* understanding between the Anglo-Saxons and the Soviets, and that our chief task was now to work for such an understanding, and that our particular agreement with the Soviets would become self-evident and internationally possible within the limits imposed by the war.

Hence, wishing to work in the United States for a closer understanding with the Soviet Union and desiring thereby to help to achieve a more speedy victory over Hitler, I wanted before everything to make clear to myself the general policy of the Soviets—both during and after the war—in their attitude both to the Great Powers and to the smaller Allied states and others. I wished very strongly to clarify their relations with all their neighbors, the question of their non-intervention in the interior affairs of adjacent states and the recognition of their full post-war sovereignty, their attitude to wartime and post-war Germany, etc., *and of course above all their attitude to ourselves.* It seemed to me that if full understanding on all these questions were reached between ourselves and the Soviets, and if there were complete and mutual trust between us, it would be possible to point to this very achievement as an example, even in the U.S.A., and that the Allies, particularly the greater powers, would thereby be fundamentally drawn closer together. All unfounded suspicions of the Soviet Union would be allayed or eliminated, and this would help to prepare the ground for what finally took place at both the Allied Conferences in Moscow and Teheran.

The Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty

We regard this treaty as one of the factors in a post-war security system; another important factor being in our view the Anglo-Soviet

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Treaty of May 26, 1942, which, like our own treaty, has its place in a general world security system in which the United States, France and the other Allied states will also participate.

For us, however, this treaty, by reason of its whole character, its twenty-year validity and its automatic renewal, is a *permanent* safeguard against any new expansion of pan-Germanism, against "Drang nach Osten" and "Lebensraum" policies. It is a guarantee of our frontiers and a guarantee also that Munich shall never happen again. In short, it is a notable guarantee of our independence and of our Republic such as has never previously been vouchsafed to us.

Our common plan and our desire to unite in this policy of defence against German imperialism with an independent and democratic Poland, which will be friendly to us, is *sincere, genuine and absolutely unshakable*. It could represent a definite solution of all the disputes between us and pave the way for a secure future for these three Slavonic states as well as safeguarding peace in Eastern and Central Europe, and maybe in Europe as a whole. Germany would never again in the future venture to provoke a new world war when faced by the alliance and harmonious collaboration of these three Slavonic states in the interests of preserving peace in this part of the world. Such an agreement may therefore have the most far-reaching significance for the future peace of Europe as a whole.

In Moscow we agreed that we should not cease to strive for such an understanding. This does not represent a striving for some sort of pan-Slavism; it represents an effort to put a definite check to the historical German banditism and pan-German imperialism by the collaboration of three free, independent, democratic Slavonic states.

The Victorious Soviet Revolution

However we may look at the Soviet Union and its regime, its earlier political and present war successes will remain historical facts for the future. Much of what is now being appreciated about the Soviet Union I saw during my first visit to Moscow in 1935; for this reason I sided with the Soviet Union against Nazism up to 1938; for this reason also I have trusted in the Soviet Union in the present war, and have never doubted her power. I have always been confident that she would finally emerge victorious from the present war. And it was in accordance with this view that I have organized the whole of our fight for liberation from the beginning of this second world war. You yourselves have been witnesses of this for a full three or four years. My second journey to Moscow confirmed for me these facts and this truth to a degree that has exceeded my expectations.

The evolution of the Soviet Union and the consequences of that evolution during the last eight years (since 1935) is something which, under the stress of war, and the events and demands of war, is adapting itself to the new conditions of its internal and international life and is going ahead at a far more rapid pace

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than was expected. I do not think that I shall be mistaken in characterizing the present conditions and development of the Soviet Union as follows:

(a) The Soviet revolution may today be described as a victorious revolution. The regime is firmly established, and like any other regime, it will evolve further; it is one which has definitely won its fight against the old Russia, and is becoming stabilized. It has triumphed internally, since it did not collapse even in face of the hardest war ever waged against any state. The Soviet Union has triumphed internationally, since, in a war against the most powerful opponent in the world, she has secured for herself an entirely new international position and become the recognized and militarily powerful ally of the greatest Empires of the world. She has overcome all attempts at isolation and has prepared herself to play a great part in the post-war world along with her allies and other states.

(b) She is conscious of her war victories, and is proud of them. She is proud of the part which she has played and will play in the struggle for the liberation of Europe and the world and for the safeguarding of democracy against Nazism. She considers herself as being the equal of the great powers. She demands the recognition of this equality from others, and wishes to maintain it in the future. She means to enjoy equal status in collaboration with the other powers.

In the organization of her war effort she has equaled the most effective countries, and in certain respects has gone ahead of them; indeed, the Red Army was the first to smash the German land war machine. She has overcome all the notorious difficulties of war communications which have hitherto been all but insurmountable. She has dealt with all the dangerous problems of supply of every type, and in this respect she is now out of all danger. Her war industry is working faultlessly and with complete success.

(c) Certain changes in the Soviet Union which have recently surprised the rest of the world are natural consequences, partly of the war, partly of the developments to which it has led, and partly of changes associated with its whole position in the world. Such are the abolition of the International; the new attitude to the Orthodox Church and religion generally; the incredibly deep and vital cultural, artistic and literary life in Moscow and other centers of the Soviet Union even in wartime; the deepened Soviet patriotic sense and national feeling; the favorable attitude toward a so-called Slavonic policy, *i.e.*, the realization that German imperialism, directed mainly against the Slavonic peoples, must be immediately destroyed for ever and the Slavonic nations must be liberated and protected for the future against German expansion. All these factors are neither a tactical game nor an opportunistic wartime exploitation of factors which she might perhaps repudiate when the war is over.

Rather is this the new internal and international evolution of a state which has emerged from isola-

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tion, a nation which has fought its way to recognition and a new and rightful position in the world, a nation which is conscious of its new resources and powers, as well as of its new international responsibilities to Europe and the world, and in the safeguarding of peace throughout the world. This is the natural and logical development of a great world state whose international position has now completely changed by reason of the now victorious revolution, formerly so widely repudiated. It finds itself suddenly faced with new tasks, new obligations and new aims which are more than merely revolutionary and exclusively Soviet in character. It is pursuing new policies, employing new methods and new political means calculated to secure its newly won position in the world. I do not mean, by the way, that this evolution is already complete.

Some see in it a return to what is allegedly being done by others; others again stress the fact that it is those who were formerly against the Soviets who have changed, and that the new attitude of the Soviets respecting this or that question is therefore entirely natural. I myself see in it the natural attitude of a successful evolution which is simply progressing in accordance with its own laws—an attitude which is sociologically quite comprehensible. Of this I was convinced earlier, and I regarded it as essential to the doctrine. Hence from 1922 I strove for a rapprochement between Europe and the Soviets and for a progressive adjustment with them. Had this been realized on all sides there would have been no second World War.

(d) The Soviet Union and the Soviet people are great not only on account of their historical achievements both for themselves and all others but also in respect of what they have succeeded in accomplishing in their great national, patriotic war, and in their national revolution generally, and above all in respect of what they have suffered in this terrible war. Hardly any nation would have succeeded in surviving such hardships as the Soviet Union. Without doubt their sacrifices have been the greatest of any of the belligerent states, both in respect of men and material.

Suffering Russia

I set down these reflections during my journey under the slopes of the Caucasus, passing through the endless ruin of Russian towns and villages, destroyed houses, and bullet-riddled hamlets, railway stations, bridges and roads, traveling past endless cemeteries of German tanks, automobiles, airplanes and arms of every type. One beautiful night I passed through Stalingrad and saw there the incredible desolation perpetrated by the Germans; ruined and shattered houses, in which for the most part nothing remained but the shell of the outer walls, projecting to the skies like terrible fingers, more ghastly by night than by day. But this devastation was nothing compared to what was called up before my imagination when the Mayor of a town near the Volga told me that he had buried in one cemetery as many as 140,000 destroyed, shat-

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tered, demoralized and justly punished Germans, unbelievably disintegrated and routed by the Red Army, having had them carted there on lorries, like shot animals, and throwing them in thousands and tens of thousands into wide deep pits as if they were logs.

And these quiet, youthful heroes of the defence of Stalingrad went on to tell me unbelievable details regarding the defence of their city, the suffering of all its inhabitants without distinction and the unheard-of bestialities which were perpetrated by the German soldiers on women and children before it was possible to conduct them finally to their well-merited graves, the desperate flight and appeals for help of hundreds and thousands of children and old people along the blazing streets under the hell of bombardment by German airplanes, till the Red Armies smashed and destroyed all this, and once and for all annihilated the whole of Nazism, and all those wretched, frenzied dreams of the mad Berchtesgaden corporal. Finally the Mayor showed us with pride the house from whose cellar they dragged out Marshal Paulus, like a rat on its last legs. Here was the collapse of those German plans which had called to high leaders for vengeance. These scenes stand out strikingly in the filmed version. Here was a broken and morally destroyed personality, still carrying the unfulfilled orders of Hitler in his pocket; ridiculous orders that he must take Stalingrad at all costs.

In Moscow I saw proof of the desolation, in the Ukraine, on the Dnieper, in Kharkov and Kiev; everywhere the same incredible and unheard-of bestiality, mass murder of the civilian population, old men, women and children; cultural monuments and buildings in almost every liberated town madly and wantonly destroyed; devastated churches and monasteries, libraries, universities, hospitals, simple homes of historic interest—and all this without any need or purpose. The reported details of these depredations made it almost impossible to believe that the German army still consists of human beings. All this cannot and must not be forgotten and all this must be repaid! And the Soviet people are determined to see that it *is* repaid.

I repeat: The Soviet Union is no less great in its suffering than in its war effort. And it is just this suffering that has brought it to its present realistic conception of post-war policy, to the decision to make an end to all this, to come to a sincere understanding with the Anglo-Saxon peoples and with everyone who genuinely wishes to join us in building a new world and a new and more justly organized Europe, a Europe which will not allow Nazism to reappear with all its bestiality, baseness and inhumanity.

There Will Again Be a Great France

At the invitation of General de Gaulle and the French National Committee I made an official visit to Algiers. I had friendly and politically significant conversations with General de Gaulle and members of the National Committee and leading French soldiers, conversations which dealt also with French-Czechoslovak questions. I was pleasurably sur-

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prised to see the way in which France is rapidly consolidating and recovering both politically and in a military sense, and how her leaders are fully conscious of the meaning of their terrible crises of 1938 and 1939 and her fall in 1940, and how fully they realize what France will have to do in order to return in Europe to her old position, merited by her great history.

I myself, in spite of everything which has happened, have never ceased to believe in France, and I continue to have firm faith in her great future. I saw many symptoms of a French renaissance during my visit, and in the course of my conversations in Algiers. The relation of the National Committee to Great Britain and to the United States is improving and is developing well, the relation to the Soviet Union is good; from the military point of view France is again taking effective part in the severe battles in Italy, and in the impending invasion a newly fighting France will play fully that political and military part which belongs to it in accordance with the new situation existing between the Allied nations. She will still have many, very many, difficulties, but the new France with her new Government is again beginning to appear upon the scene in Allied Europe. It is certain that in this way our French-Czechoslovak affairs will be definitely dealt with. Really patriotic Frenchmen have, in any case, properly appreciated their relationship to Czechoslovakia in the crises of several years through which their country has passed, and this in the true interests of *their own* country; and they have never changed their views. All this was expressed by both our friendly declarations, that of General de Gaulle and my own, in the course of my official visit to this French territory.

In Europe there will again be a great and powerful France!

The Invitation of Mr. Churchill

I received in Algiers the invitation of Mr. Churchill to visit him in the course of my return from Russia for a political conference in Marrakesh, where in the presence of Lord Beaverbrook, he was resting after his heavy conferences in Cairo and Teheran, and convalescing after the illness by which he had been affected. The whole British Empire and all the Allied nations had a short time before been disturbed and anxious for whole days and weeks as to the state of his health and as to whether he would be able to labor further for us all to complete the tremendous work which destiny has laid upon him in the present war. With his name there will always be associated the historical fact, and his services in connection with it, that Great Britain in this great struggle victoriously resisted a terrible attack of German barbarians who were conducting a total war, that for more than a year she struggled against it almost alone, and that thereby she gave the first decisive and fundamental blow to the greatest political gangsterdom of the modern age. Mr. Churchill is leading, and will continue to lead, Great Britain to victory in her greatest war.

In concluding a journey which

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brought to an end so successfully our diplomatic struggle for the renewal of our Republic, I was very glad to receive this friendly invitation from a man who had seen clearly even before 1938 what was being prepared against us and against his own country, who in the critical years of 1938 and 1939 remained so devotedly true to his friendship to us and to his obligations to democratic Europe and who during the present war was the *first* to declare the end of Munich—and who will therefore always have a place in the hearts of all true Czechoslovaks—and who during the whole of this war has not ceased to help us wherever it has been possible.

The conversation, in the course of which Mr. Churchill expressed to me again his agreement with our Moscow Treaty, therefore completed what had been achieved in Moscow; it emphasized once more the old friendly relations between Great Britain and ourselves, and above all, that friendship and those firm indestructible links between our countries which have been created by the present war and the great assistance furnished us by the British people and the British Empire for our renaissance since 1940 in the severe world crisis. The Czechoslovak nation did not fail to be grateful after the first world war; it will not be ungrateful after the terrible war of 1939.

The Pillars of Security

The foundation of our foreign policy is and will be the geographical position of the Republic in its pre-Munich frontiers. Its first support will be our treaty with the Soviet Union, which will represent the foundation of our post-war security. It will be completed by a second essential pillar of post-war European policy, *i.e.*, the British-Soviet Treaty, by which we are automatically bound to a very close and friendly co-operation with Great Britain. I do not wish to find for our cooperation with both these powers other special formulae; it simply corresponds, not only to our geographical position in Central Europe and to the tradition which we shall derive from this second world war both in relation to the Soviet Union and to Great Britain, but also to our national and economic interests. The fact that in the present war we have fought partly on Soviet soil, and partly on British soil and have been supported by these two states more than by anybody, remains a foundation for the whole of our future policy.

Our third essential task for the days to come will be to bring about, in a spirit of complete friendship with the Poles and the Soviets, that guarantee against a German "Drang nach Osten" which is contemplated by the Soviet-Czechoslovak Pact. This could also be a road for rendering valid those principles which were embodied in the United Polish-Czechoslovak Declaration of November 11, 1940, and for laying the main foundations for the development of further friendly relations with post-war Poland.

The fourth foundation of the post-war policy will be the acceptance of the principles of the post-war security system, the basis for which was

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laid at the Moscow and Teheran Conferences. In this respect we shall accept that which will be agreed upon between the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union and loyally and truly apply it.

We shall seek further to aid France in achieving as speedily as possible a complete renaissance and in re-establishing her former position as a Great Power, so that she may take her former place in the same international line as Great Britain and the Soviet Union; so we may again return to the traditional friendly Franco-Czechoslovak policy. We shall follow the same policy also with regard to Yugoslavia. In this respect we shall only continue in an existing tradition. We shall also strive to attain to satisfactory collaboration in Central Europe, particularly with Austria and Rumania as soon as these two states have solved their principal international problems. I do not wish to advance premature considerations as to what will happen to Germany and Hungary and to Italy; this will be decided in the first place by the peace conditions and the further gradual evolution of those states, and particularly of *their* relation *to us and to our friends.*

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COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN THE FRENCH NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF LIBERATION*

BY JACQUES DUCLOS
Secretary of the Communist Party of France

THE FRENCH Communist Party prides itself in being considered enemy No. 1 by the enemies of France. This party, whose members have so freely shed of their blood for the liberation of their country, holds an important position in French resistance that no one would dare to challenge.

General de Gaulle recently declared: "The Communists play an enormous part in resistance against the enemy. They oppose the foe with a dynamic energy to which I gladly pay tribute."

This opinion of General de Gaulle regarding our party, whose General Secretary is Maurice Thorez, is shared by ever increasing numbers of Frenchmen who are less and less influenced by the calumnies of Nazi propaganda. This accounts for the widespread astonishment evoked by the fact that no Communists entered the National Committee of Liberation after the last Cabinet changes.

In the first place, the radio announced that the Central Committee of the party, whose headquarters are in France, as everyone knows, would have to be consulted by the Communist Deputies in Algiers regarding the question of government participation. At the head of our Deputies in Algiers is our beloved André Marty, who fought fascism on Spanish soil as leader of the International Brigades.

Then the radio announced the appointment of Lucien Midol to the post of Director of Industrial Production and the appointment of Etienne Fajon as Director of Public Health.

Then nothing further was said until a few days ago. Finally the London radio informed us that the reason the Communists are not yet represented in the French National Committee of Liberation is that this committee wants to choose the Communists who are to participate in the government; whereas our comrades intend to choose our representatives themselves.

This situation calls for clarification. First of all, it must be pointed

* A Declaration made in December, 1943; translated from *Liberté*, Algiers, March 9, 1944.

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out that the Central Committee of the Communist Party clearly defined its position regarding the participation of Communists in the National Committee of Liberation. It declared that such participation would have specific significance: the firm and resolute application of measures intended to:

1. Concentrate all the resources of France and her empire for the war effort; build a powerful anti-Hitler army and arm patriots;

2. Punish all traitors already in the hands of the French National Committee of Liberation and energetically weed out all fifth-column elements from government agencies;

3. Develop a democratic social policy to galvanize all the energy of the French people and stimulate enthusiasm for participation in the war of liberation.

4. Carry out a policy of French national unity by understanding and granting the legitimate demands of the colonial peoples.

5. Develop the role of France in the United Nations bloc, for the foundation of the independence of our country and the restoration of her greatness rest in the maximum development of French participation in the common struggle of the Allies.

Thus our party seeks to evade no responsibilities. It defines the policy required by our national interests and intends to name its representatives in the government.

There are some people who may claim that control by parties and organizations of resistance over their membership is undemocratic and that the head of the government should be empowered to choose whomever he pleases without consulting the organizations which represent the nation. Actually the latter would be the undemocratic procedure. We have seen the disastrous effects of this type of procedure in the last few decades.

One remembers what happened within various parties before the war when a cabinet was to be formed. It resulted in placing into power scoundrels like Laval and Frossard. The Prime Minister-to-be would say that he was acting independently. But if this was true in the case of certain organized parties, it did not apply to certain economic groups.

Close scrutiny of the names of pre-war ministers and Vichy ministers reveals that one was minister solely because he financed the election campaign of his party; another because he was in the service of an electric power trust. Others were chosen because they had the souls of lackeys. It was precisely the lack of control that typified a regime devoid of true democracy.

Therefore, the new France will learn from past experience and will not tolerate irresponsibility in its rulers.

Today, the French National Committee of Liberation derives its strength from the resistance groups who, for the time being, represent the sovereignty of the French people. We would find it perfectly logical that each group appoint its members to participate in the French Committee of Liberation. Thus each Committeeman would reflect for better or for worse on his group and the latter would not be in a position

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to tolerate intrigues and the cheap politics typical of the pre-war days. It would appoint its best and staunchest members, men of high character and firm resolve. For such men are needed in the government at a time when so many vital problems must be solved.

It is therefore a question of democratic control that is raised in the discussions now going on in Algiers between the French National Committee of Liberation and our party. True democracy requires control of the representatives of the people by their constituents. It is not by eliminating such control but, on the contrary, by making it practical, that we will escape returning to the political habits that have done France such harm. If each group feels responsible for its members, it will put into power men of courage and integrity. No longer would it be possible to witness the rise to power, through shady deals, of a man like Georges Bonnet, who was held in the lowest possible esteem by his own party members in Parliament.

The Communist Party does not tolerate in its ranks any person whose honesty or civic integrity is questionable. The comrades chosen by the party to act as members of the French National Committee of Liberation have been the victims of repression by Hitler's fifth column, whose policies of appeasement and treason they denounced. They have suffered for their country. Those whose resistance has been neither dangerous nor painful for them, are in no position to pass judgment.

The Communists fighting on French soil, to whom General de Gaulle paid a stirring tribute, do not differentiate between the party Deputies recently released from prison and the ones who arrived in Algiers from France. They are all fighters for national liberation and no discrimination will be tolerated.

The interests of France demand that the Communist Party have representation in the French National Committee of Liberation. It wants to exercise its right of control of the appointment of cabinet members. It is determined to act in the spirit of responsibility of a great organization in the front lines of the battle to reconquer the freedom, independence and greatness of France. It likewise determines to be in the forefront of the struggle for the rebirth of France, for a future of true democracy based on the respect of the sovereign rights of the people, without which there can be no strong or stable power.

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A NEW FRENCH DEMOCRACY

BY WALDECK ROCHET

Deputy for the Seine

AS VICTORY approaches, post-war problems, particularly those of the resurrection and restoration of France, are occupying all minds. In Algiers interest is growing in the measures the Provisional Government will be called upon to take at the time of the liberation of French territory and during the immediately ensuing period. Plans for a Provisional Government and a new Constitution are being studied. Within France several groups of the Resistance Movement have already drawn up plans for a new Constitution.

The French Communist Party, while still regarding the task of driving the Boche from the national soil as the first priority, has clearly defined its position, as summarized below.

For a Reformed Democracy

The French Communist Party, considering it necessary not only to regain national liberty, but also to reorganize it on a solid foundation, lest it be lost again, maintains that the defects of the democracy we have known can be corrected only by a wider and more genuine democracy. This presupposes freedom of conscience for all, believers and unbelievers; the freedom of the press, and of assembly and association; the inviolability of the home and the secre y of corrcspondence, thus assuring respect for human dignity; and the absolute equality of all citizens before the law.

There should also be certain essential social rights, such as the right to work and to leisure, the right to education for all, the right of all workers to insurance at state expense to cover the risks of accidents and illness, and to include a sufficient retiring pension for old workers.

These social rights and liberties, guaranteed by the Constitution, can survive and remain permanent only if the government of France is based on the people and responsible to the people. This presupposes universal suffrage freed from all pressure of financial interests and all corruption.

To carry us forward toward such a reformed democracy there will be two distinct stages:

1. That immediately following the liberation of our country and preceding the indispensable consultation with the French people. This

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will be the period of Provisional Government, the practical necessity of which is beyond doubt;

2. That beginning with the election, by universal suffrage, of a National (Constituent) Assembly.

According to Republican tradition, the Provisional Governments (a) are of *short* duration, and (b) give way to Constituent Assemblies elected by universal suffrage.

We consider that these conditions should hold for the Provisional Government in being on the morrow of the liberation of the country, and that the date of the elections should be quite soon after that victory. More precisely, the Constituent Assembly should meet as soon as the country has been liberated and the prisoners of war and deported workers have returned home.

But, though it will last only a short time, the Provisional Government will have a most important part to play, and vital tasks to carry out.

In the political sphere, it will have the tasks of completely liquidating the Vichy regime; of restoring democratic liberties as they existed before September 1, 1939; of purging and mercilessly punishing the traitors.

As to the National Assembly, which is to assist the Provisional Government until the election, it is impossible to reassemble the former Chamber of Deputies and the former Senate, because they have been too discredited; nor can the Treveneuc law again be applied. This law of the Third Republic requires that, when the National Assembly cannot meet, an alternative assembly be formed from representatives of the departmental (county) councils.

It seems to us sufficient, in addition to the Provisional Government, to set up a fairly small assembly composed of delegates from the patriotic movements, from economic and trade union organizations, and of old soldiers and war prisoners, hostages, and volunteers in the cause of the national liberation.

In the towns and departments it will be necessary immediately to replace the collaborationist municipal councils and the delegations nominated by Vichy by patriotic delegations composed of former elected members who have remained faithful to the national cause, and of representatives of the patriotic movements.

In the social and economic spheres, the Provisional Government will have to take urgent measures in regard to food, employment of workers, raising of wages and salaries, help for prisoners, reform of money and price policy, confiscation of the property of industrial magnates, bankers, etc., who had dealings with the enemy, control of banks and credit establishments.

Plebiscite or Elections

One further important task of the Provisional Government will be preparation of elections.

It has been suggested that this should be preceded by a plebiscite intended to provide the Provisional Government and its head with the powers necessary to establish a new Constitution. The Communist Party is opposed to such a plebiscite, firstly because plebiscites do not form

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part of the traditions of French democracy, and secondly because the history of our country shows, by the examples of the First and Second Empires, that each time recourse has been had to a plebiscite, the result has been the establishment of a personal dictatorship. In short, there is no democratic method of making a Constitution except through the election of a Constituent Assembly by universal suffrage.

We also believe it is necessary to arrange for representation of the native populations (of the French Empire), at least the more developed ones, with a view to assisting their progressive development toward political maturity.

Finally, so that the new Constitution may truly correspond to the will of the people, we consider it desirable that during the whole of the electoral period a thorough study should be made not only of the draft of the Constitution that may be drawn up by the Provisional Government, but also of any alternative drafts or amendments that may be put forward by the different parties and organizations of the patriotic movements.

The people that is being asked to fight to free France cannot be denied the right to make itself heard on the means of avoiding a return to the mistakes of the past. It must indeed be asked to pronounce its verdict on the Constitution and on the problems of reconstruction that France will have to solve. The people should be trusted.

With regard to the President, the Communist Party is opposed to the plan put forward by various groups of the Resistance Movement, to concentrate executive power in the hands of a President elected directly by the people, because democracy requires the subordination of the executive to the legislative power and not the reverse.

Control by the nation over its elected representatives and the Government is necessary. The central reform required is that of a permanent check on the representative by those who elect him; voters should have the power of control over the incapacity or disloyalty of a deputy by the right to revoke the mandate given him.

With regard to political parties, in order to transform incoherent agitation into a wholesome ordered discussion informed, with a deside for the public good, there should be great parties honestly based on clear programs. Possibly there might exist forms of coordination and union, such as the Council of Resistance or the Committees of Fighting France, that would permit these parties to unite or to seek common ground for the application of specific measures of national interest.

The French Communist Party is prepared to play its part as such a great party, all of whose efforts would be bent to the effective organization of public life, combining the greatest possible measure of democracy with public order.

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CANADA'S CHOICE: UNITY OR CHAOS*

BY TIM BUCK

National Leader, Labor Progressive Party

THE agreement arrived at in the Teheran Conference is important to all mankind because it provides the sole basis upon which complete democratic victory can be achieved and a just and lasting peace established. In this it meets the deepest hopes of all democratic men and women.

The Most Terrible Battles of War Yet to Come

It must be emphasized, however, that military victory has yet to be won. Our nation, in common with all the nations allied against the fascist Axis, stands before the task of defeating the Nazi armies this year. The invasion of Europe will involve some of the most terrible battles of the entire war. The people of Canada will feel to the full the awful impact of this struggle when our men cross the channel for the final decisive blow against Hitlerism in Europe. The supreme responsibility confronting our party, and the entire labor movement today, is that of strengthening national unity in support of the men and women in Canada's forces overseas. That is also the best way to prepare Canada for the peace.

The Teheran agreement voices the determination of the leaders of the governments of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union that their nations "shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow." It pledges them jointly to "seek the cooperation and active participation of all nations, large and small, whose peoples in heart and mind are dedicated, as are our own people, to the elimination of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance. . . ." It is a promise that the peoples of the liberated countries shall enjoy the opportunity to establish governments of their own free choice and to reconstruct their respective national economies according to their own needs and desires. The announcement of the agreement was a major step in the direction of consolidating that firm unity of the United Nations and that national unity of all democratic forces within each one of them which alone can guarantee victory. It indicates both the political framework and the economic basis for the fulfilment of the ideal of a durable peace and a world association of sovereign democratic

* Excerpts from a report to a meeting of the National Committee of the Labor Progressive Party, Toronto, Feb. 12, 1944.

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states. It opens up possibilities for a period of great and far-reaching economic and social progress. Carried through in the spirit which now inspires the United Nations it can result in raising the level of economic activity and social progress throughout the world, complete reconstruction of Europe and parts of Asia; the building of new cities, new transportation systems, new industries; and the revitalization of cultural life.

Canada in the Struggle for Victory and a Lasting Peace

Democratic Canadians welcomed the changes which took place during the second half of 1943. A surge of pride swept over the nation when Canadian troops joined the famous Eighth Army in Italy. There has been a renewal of confidence—and of the national pledge that our men overseas shall receive everything that modern science and human skill can provide.

Our nation's war effort has been the cause for deep national pride. More than 800,000 men and women have been enrolled in the armed forces. A full army corps is fighting in Italy. Canadian naval units are performing more than half of all the work of guarding convoys in the North Atlantic. The Royal Canadian Air Force is a proud partner with the R.A.F. and the U.S. Army Air Force in the smashing air offensive against Nazi Germany.

The productivity of Canadians in industry and agriculture continues to increase. Canada's production in 1943 totaled 8.7 billion dollars, over half of which was used for the war. The record shows continually growing support for war activities such as victory loans, blood donations, etc.

Our national economy is beginning to reflect the progress toward a victorious conclusion of the war in Europe. Except in the field of aircraft production. Canadian industry has passed the peak of its war production effort. Layoffs from sections of war industry are warning the labor movement that reconversion of industry back to civilian production will soon become a problem of immediate concern. This is bringing forward the entire question of post-war policy and prospects. Employment, trade union participation in the transfer of workers from war to peacetime jobs, measures for the civil re-establishment of men and women released from the armed services, policies to maintain the national income and the purchasing power of the people, all these problems are coming forward as we approach victory in the war.

The speech from the Throne submitted to Parliament on January 27 reflected both the dangers and the high hopes of this crucial year. Its opening sentences struck the following note of warning: "The war is now in its fifth year. The coming months will witness decisive battles. They will demand a supreme effort on the part of all nations united in the cause of freedom." Every democratic Canadian will agree with those words. Our sons and brothers in the armed forces and our role as a nation in the United Nations alliance compel

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us to recognize that the supreme need within Canada is still national unity to win the war.

The Throne speech also reflected the profound change that has taken place in the world situation since our national convention. "While giving to the needs of the war precedence over all else," it declared, "my ministers are resolved that, so far as the future can be foreseen, Canada will be in a position to meet the difficult situation which will have to be faced as victory is won."

The legislative program proposed in the speech is a definite effort to assure Canadians—during this the conclusive stage of the war in Europe—that social security and better standards of living will be achieved after victory has been won.

The labor movement and all progressive people welcome the objectives indicated in that statement of aims. But social security legislation, urgently needed as it is, will remain utterly inadequate unless measures are also adopted to ensure full employment. The central problem of post-war policy in Canada will be the problem of providing jobs. There are sentences in the Address which *may* indicate policies to ensure large-scale employment. The question being asked now, on all sides, is: "Can we hope that such policies will be carried through?" The task of the labor movement is to see that the legislation promised and implied in the speech from the Throne is put on the statute books during this session.

The legislative proposals suggested in the speech from the Throne, on the background of the new perspective now opening, will compel every political party to review its proposals for war and post-war policy. Each political party must accept part responsibility for strengthening national unity now, during the crucial days of the war, and for enacting the legislation indicated in the speech from the Throne.

How Shall the Policies of Parties Be Judged?

Victory in Europe will bring forward problems as great as were the problems brought forward by the war. The test by which the policies of parties and the statements of their leaders will be judged in the period ahead is: *"Do they strengthen national unity for victory now and do they offer reasonable assurance of jobs for all in the post-war reconstruction of the world?"*

Domestic and foreign policies in accord with the agreement arrived at in Teheran will ensure those objectives. Such policies will be carried through, however, only if the nation is united upon the basic question of sustained Canadian co-operation with the Socialist state as well as the states of the United Nations in re-establishing the shattered economy of the old world.

Mr. Edward L. Stettinius has emphasized the need for this in the following words:

"Lend-Lease operations, as we know them, now, will some day draw to a close, but we know already that the principle of mutual aid in mutual self-interest that is embodied in the Lend-Lease Act

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must live on. Today there is more unity of purpose and of action among freedom-loving peoples than ever before. In that unity we can find the strength to build a peaceful world in which freedom and opportunity will be secure for all."

It would be folly to ignore the obstacles to such cooperation. The measure of cooperation now existing between Canada and the U.S.S.R. was brought about by the threat of a Hitler victory and our mutual determination to prevent it. The unity and cooperation which now guarantees United Nations victory is the measure of mutual determination to subordinate all other considerations to the task of defeating the Axis. The conclusive reason for continuation of United Nations' unity and cooperation after the Axis has been defeated, is the awful prospect of economic chaos, civil war and a third world war which will probably engulf the world if the Teheran agreement is not carried through.

The Crucial Issue of Post-War Policy

What are the policies around which the unity of the nation can be maintained in the post-war period? They will be determined by the issues which confront the nation. The focal problem of the post-war period, upon solution of which the overwhelming majority of the nation must be united, is that of our national economic policy. This will involve, of course, the related problems of maintaining a high level of employment, and production at home, and a high rate of exports to foreign markets.

Experience during the war has shown that Canada can produce enough to provide a higher standard of life for our people. But the fact that we have been able to double production while three quarters of a million of our youngest and strongest are in uniform is a serious warning of the magnitude of the problem which will confront us when the fighting stops.

When those young Canadians are demobilized there will no longer be an insatiable demand for arms, munitions and equipment. Upwards of a million men and women will be released from war industries. The demand for agricultural products will no longer flow out of the impelling needs of war. Then we shall have to consume, or find export outlets for, almost double the amount of goods that we produced during 1939 or suffer a very serious crisis.

The problem of maintaining full employment after the war will be vastly different from what it was during the pre-war years. Its solution will require important changes in governmental policy.

Our capacity to produce has been stepped up to a tremendous extent. When the fighting men are demobilized from the armed services, we shall be able to produce as much of everything as we produced in 1939 with two million Canadians unemployed. It is self-evident that Canadian economy will not provide social security and a rising standard of living with such a large proportion of the population on relief. One of

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the first needs, therefore, is for national policies through which the government guarantees the people against such a disaster.

The question of how we can continue to produce and dispose of approximately the same amount of goods in peacetime as we are producing today is the crucial question that we shall then face as a nation. If we solve that problem successfully, in a democratic way, we shall have taken a long stride toward a happier and more prosperous Canada.

Wartime experience has proven conclusively that we can solve the problem in an orderly democratic way. To do so, we must maintain a level of economic activity which keeps the national income approximately as high as it has been during the war. This question of the level of economic activity is simultaneously the decisive question of jobs.

Must Carry Through Great Public Works

Steady full employment will be possible during the post-war period only if the government initiates and carries through great undertakings: Modernization and reconstruction of our cities. Abolition of slums; homes for the people, hospitals, schools, libraries and recreational centers; huge public works such as the St. Lawrence Waterway, development of our vast potential hydro-electric power resources, rural electrification, irrigation of prairie lands, development of our rich natural resources, reconstruction of our national transportation systems and modern highways. Carrying through these and other great public works which Canada needs will provide jobs at socially necessary work for tens of thousands and generate increasing activity throughout the entire industry and agriculture of the nation. It will maintain the national income and the purchasing power of the people. It will increase both the national production and the nation's power to consume.

It will require bold national policies based squarely upon the needs of Canada's people and the experience of the war, carried through in the spirit of crusades. With such policies, full employment can be maintained and with maintenance of full employment we can maintain the national income.

Half the Industrialized World Will Need Rebuilding

To operate at a high level and raise the standard of living in the post-war period Canada must export vast quantities of industrial as well as agricultural products. The basis for such huge exports has been entirely changed by the war. As pointed out earlier, the entire continent of Europe has been devastated by the war. Across a vast area of that continent cities, railways, mines, factories, in some cases even farms, have been completely destroyed. The same is true of huge areas of China and other parts of the Far East. The cities, industries, railways, communications systems, harbors and highways of half the industrialized part of the world will need to be rebuilt when the fighting stops. In vast areas of other parts of the

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world the need for railways, machinery and equipment for industry, as well as the urgent need for food and clothing, will be almost without limit.

Donald Nelson, Chairman of the United States War Production Board, states the case as follows: "By sending those people, on fair terms, the machinery with which to develop, by giving them gladly and unstintingly of our knowledge and experience, we shall achieve friendship and cooperation that diplomacy alone cannot hope to realize."

Such an outlook involves the prospect of Canada giving either free gifts or long term credits to the extent of billions of dollars to help in rebuilding the world. The prospect opens up the possibility of a high level of economic activity for years after the war. If the task of post-war reconstruction is approached in the same spirit as the United Nations are now approaching the task of winning the war, the world will enter a period of tremendous expansion. Industrialization of countries now undeveloped, raising of the standard of life of a thousand million people and advance toward a higher political stage in the world as a whole. Such is the tremendous vista of human progress which Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin opened up to the world by their historic agreement at Teheran. The Labor-Progressive Party will strive to make Canada a vital force in carrying that agreement through.

The Changing Views of Some Capitalist Leaders

Is it possible to achieve national unity in Canada for the carrying through of such policies? Indeed it is. One of the best pieces of evidence to show that it is possible is to be seen in the changing tone and character of opinions expressed by many leading spokesmen of the capitalist class. One of the most outstanding of these comes from no less a person than Mr. Morris W. Wilson, president of the Royal Bank of Canada. Addressing the annual meeting of the shareholders of the Royal Bank on January 13 in Montreal, Mr. Wilson made the following significant statement concerning post-war rehabilitation and the policies which he thinks Canada should pursue:

"I personally believe that large outright gifts of food, raw materials, finished goods and machinery to backward and devastated countries will in the long run and even from the most selfish point of view, not only contribute most to human welfare, but both in the short and long run be in the best interests of those nations which can afford to make the gifts.

"If this is too much to expect of human beings in their present stage of development, the alternative must be loans on a very large scale on long and easy terms, or probably a combination of both loans and gifts. I think such loans would have to be to governments, because the management of an international fund presumably under the control of the great powers could hardly expect to decide on the merits of individual applicants, and, even if they did, would doubtless in due course be accused of attempting to influence internal business policies or trends."

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The Path of Democratic Progress

We are living through days of epochal change. The character of the war and the influence of the labor movement upon changing national policies make it our duty to emphasize the problems which must be solved if the path toward our ultimate objective is to be kept open. Canada can be kept in the main stream of progressive world action only if the great majority of the nation is united around policies based upon the prospect opened up by the Teheran agreement. Such policies provide the basis for continued national and United Nations unity. They are also the policies which will enable mankind to advance in democratic freedom, through far-reaching social reforms to that stage in which the people, through their own experience, will realize the need for socialism.

In this situation serious working-class leadership bases its proposals upon a sober estimate of what are the most advanced proposals that the majority of democratic Canadians will support.

One thing is clear. While the majority of people are not yet ready to support abolition of the profit system they do want change. A careful study of their attitudes and reaction, combined with the public records of the Gallup Poll and such like mirrors of public opinion, makes one thing absolutely clear. *The people of Canada have no intention of allowing this country to revert back to the policies and conditions of 1939 if they can do anything to prevent it.*

The expressed desires of the great majority of people may be summed up in the following demands which literally every organized group of farmers, workers and progressive middle class people are endorsing and elaborating all across the country:

1. Jobs For All When the War Is Over!

The first demand put forward by all sections of the democratic people is that our government shall introduce policies to provide a reasonable assurance that every man and woman who wants to work when this war is over shall be able to get a job.

2. Opportunities for the Youth in the Post-War Years

Tied in with the demand for jobs goes the sharpening demand for measures to ensure that our youth, particularly the young men and women who gave up their training to join the armed forces, shall be guaranteed opportunities for careers in the Canada that we shall build after this war. The young generation of Canada is giving unstintingly of itself so that the scourge of Nazism may be destroyed. We are justly proud of our great Army, Navy and Air Force staffed by the flower of Canada's youth. It is now while the war is on that we must pledge that Canada's young generation shall never return to the shameful days of the hunger treks, rod-riding and hopelessness.

We must now assure each and every young man and young woman

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in uniform that they will return to jobs, to possibilities to continue their interrupted education and training for trades and to conditions conducive to the happiness they so richly deserve.

In the post-war period we must make sure of improved educational facilities, of vocational training and ample recreational opportunities. Youth is entitled to the best the nation can offer; for the young of today are the nation's producers and leaders of tomorrow.

3. Prosperity for the Farmers

The farmers have increased their production of food magnificently in response to the cry for food for the armies, food for Britain, and food to feed the starving millions of Europe and Asia. They want government policies to provide them with a fair chance to make a decent living. They want adequate prices for farm products. They want an assurance that the prices for their products will be maintained in a stable relationship to the prices they must pay for manufactured goods. They want markets for their products. They know as a result of the war that such markets can be maintained by raising the standard of living at home and adopting policies of international cooperation which will provide steadily expanding markets for the products of Canada's fruitful farms.

4. Complete Provisions for Soldier's Civil Re-establishment

The people of Canada want national policies that will provide the fullest assurance for complete civil re-establishment to the men and women of the armed forces. The debt we owe to these men and women cannot be measured in money. But the people of Canada want these young men and women to be guaranteed opportunities for education or retraining to learn a trade or profession. They want them to receive pay and allowances until the opportunity to earn a living is available. They want every man and woman demobilized from the army to receive an adequate demobilization gratuity. They want those who are incapacitated or partly incapacitated and the dependents of those who have fallen to receive generous pensions which will eliminate the danger of want.

5. Social Security for All

The people of Canada want Dominion government policies which will provide social security for every man, woman and child in the country. The war has shown that every child born in Canada could be guaranteed adequate nutrition, adequate medical care, efficient education and hospitalization. Every adult man and woman could be guaranteed protection against unemployment, adequate widowed mothers' allowances, free medical care and hospitalization and adequate old age pensions for every Canadian who reaches the age of 60. The people of Canada believe these things are possible and they want a Dominion Government which they believe will provide these things right away.

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6. Bring Our Constitution Up to Date

The people want some assurance that constitutional difficulties will not be used as an excuse for enactment of emasculated versions of the social legislation they need. Millions of Canadians remember how the British North America Act was used to block sorely needed reforms in the 1930's. They fear repetition of such tactics.

Canada's Constitution should be brought up to date, as proposed in our brief to the Rowell-Sirois Commission in 1937. Social services should be a Dominion responsibility. With the marked discrepancies in various provinces, the standard of social services should not be dependent upon local conditions. Canada must have the right to amend her own constitution. The present situation, in which amendments can be made only by the British House of Commons, is in contradiction to Canada's place in world affairs. It is absolutely essential that the principle of national rights and adequate safeguards to protect basic provincial and cultural rights, particularly the language, religious, educational and civil law rights prized by the people of French Canada must be provided. With such safeguards and an established method and procedure for constitutional amendment, the restrictive clause in the Statute of Westminster which now provides that our Constitution can be amended only by the British House of Commons should be removed.

7. Base Our Foreign Policies Upon Canada's Interests

What has been said above concerning the need to bring our Constitution up to date is true in principle about Canada's foreign policies also.

Canada is now one of the most important of the small nations. Mackenzie King declared some time ago that we shall emerge from this war as a power. One of the vital needs in the shaping and carrying through of our national policies is that our foreign policies, and the relationships which grow out of them, shall be formulated in Canada on the basis of Canada's interests, shall be administered directly by the government of this country and shall be under control of its House of Commons.

We have urged this consistently for many years. It is written into the history of our movement. Because of this we welcomed Mackenzie King's blunt rejection of the proposals for imperial centralization advanced by Lord Halifax recently. We and the overwhelming majority of Canadians reject Halifax's implied proposals to build up an imperialist power bloc. Such a policy could only lead to a revival of imperialist power politics and rivalries—and eventually war. The ideal toward which Canada's foreign policy should aim is that of Canada playing a democratic role as a sovereign state in a world association of sovereign states.

Such an ideal does not exclude or contradict, continued Canadian membership in the British Com-

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monwealth; on the contrary, it envisages development of Canada's role in the Commonwealth to one of increasing importance. A member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, next door neighbor to the United States and a friendly near neighbor to the great confederation of Soviet Socialist Republics, Canada can and should become a link between the great democratic powers. To do that effectively she must not be subordinate in any way to any one of them. Canada's foreign policy must be based squarely upon Canada's national interests and needs.

French Canada and the Teheran Agreement

The people want definite and straightforward action to abolish the inequalities which still persist in French Canada. Policies based upon the perspective opened up by the Teheran agreement will aid in abolishing them. Raising the standard of living, public education and social services in Quebec and the other areas where intolerably low levels now prevail, will increase the purchasing power of a third of the nation. This will be a big factor in helping to solve the problem of the domestic market for Canadian goods after the war.

There is a growing consciousness among democratic people in English Canada that this is a matter of concern to every Canadian and not to French Canadians alone. The low wage level, the intolerably low standard of public education and social services, the high rate of infant mortality, the high death rate from tuberculosis are but evidence of the conditions created by the systematic economic discrimination from which the workers, farmers and lower middle class people of the towns and cities, suffer in the province of Quebec. Correction of this situation is a national duty. Leadership in its correction should come from the Dominion Government.

There is a rising consciousness of these evils and their causes in Quebec. There is striking growth of the trade union movement in Quebec and there are numerous indications of mass political revolt in that province.

French Canada Is a Problem for All Canada

The danger to the people of Quebec and to the prospects for strengthened national unity, lies in the fact that in their desire for improvement, masses of the people of Quebec are turning toward the Bloc Populaire—the leaders of which are pursuing a line dangerously similar to the line followed by the leaders of all fascist movements in their early stages.

Those men and women in both French and English-speaking Canada who realize the need for national unity around policies in accord with the Teheran agreement must accept a serious responsibility toward the masses in French Canada. The majority of the rank and file following of the Bloc Populaire is composed of honest men and women who desire progressive social change. Thousands of them are at-

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tracted to the Bloc by its demagogic emphasis upon the shameful economic conditions in Quebec. The best way to win the support of these tens of thousands of earnest men and women for policies of national unity is to unite the labor and people's movements in English and French Canada in the struggle to bring about correction of the national grievances of French Canada.

National policies based upon the Teheran agreement must abolish the economic and social inequalities in Quebec and correct the national grievances of French Canada.

The Labor Movement and National Policy

The Teheran agreement places a heavy responsibility on the leadership of the trade union movement.

The pressing task confronting the trade union leadership in Canada is that of developing systematic joint activity to induce the Government to introduce progressive labor legislation. P.C. 9384 is a good example of this need. As promulgated, that order is contrary to the essence of the voluminous evidence submitted to the National Inquiry that almost half of Canada's workers receive wages definitely and admittedly too low to provide for a decent standard of existence. A universal proposal put forward in every brief submitted by the labor movement was for the payment of the full cost of living bonus to these workers. The measures introduced in P.C. 9384 are just the contrary. Another point emphasized in a majority of the briefs submitted was the need to abolish the wage freezing regulations from wages below fifty cents per hour. On this point also P.C. 9384 proposed action exactly contrary to the urgent representations of the labor movement.

How did it happen that such anti-labor regulations should follow the inquiry? It was, in the main, because in spite of the knowledge that powerful pressure was being exerted by reactionary employers, the trade union movement failed to maintain sufficient united action on this issue. The Canadian Commonwealth Federation divided progressive political forces; on the left by its anti-Communist, anti-Soviet propaganda and on the right by its pretentious but irresponsible propaganda about "Socialism now!" The result was that Mackenzie King, feeling the pressure of increased activity on the part of reactionary forces, and not being subjected to sufficient pressure from the progressive forces, enacted an order-in-council slapping the face of the labor movement and reassuring big business on the question of the Government's wage policy. But, as workers realized the meaning of the Order, a storm of protest broke out, compelling Liberal M.P.'s to denounce the Order also. As a result of that Mackenzie King gave way and informed the mass delegation representing the Canadian Congress of Labor that the Order will be amended. It provides a perfect illustration of the need for unceasing vigilance and systematic public pressure. It shows also, that concessions can be secured if public pressure is properly applied.

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The trade union movement can influence national policy to a far greater extent than is usually recognized. Its influence in national policies has increased to a marked extent during the war. Any doubt on this score is quickly dissipated by a review of the changing character of labor legislation, Dominion and Provincial, or by the contrast between, say, the national inquiry into wages and labor relations held in Ottawa last year and the Mather Commission in 1919.

Furthermore, it must be emphasized, the possibilities for strengthening labor's influence are great. Labor has played an honorable and decisive role in the struggle for war production. The trade unions have accepted wartime regulations including wage-freezing, job freezing and other measures. They have accepted these measures, often in the face of Government and employer provocation, while their membership has been doubled. That fact is perhaps the best testimony to the earnest will of the majority of trade unionists to subordinate their own immediate interests and opportunities for advantage to the need to win the war. In doing these things labor has made a marked contribution to national unity.

Trade Unions Can Influence the Future of Canada

These things have raised the status of the trade union movement in the nation. Its members and their families now total almost a fourth of our population. By united action the trade unions can become a powerful force in the interests of the nation.

The trade union movement has serious reasons to exercise its full influence now. The prospects of lay-offs from war industries, the need for government-labor cooperation in transfer of workers from war to civilian employment, the pressing need to ensure Goverment-labor cooperation in the re-establishment of the men and women from the armed forces in civil life, the need for the trade union movement to help formulate national policies which will guarantee opportunities for our youth, these are but typical examples of the numerous problems which will require exercise of all the influence of the trade union movement.

The future of trade unionism in Canada is closely linked up with the Teheran agreement. If Canada adopts national policies in accord with it, prospects for continued growth of the trade unions are very bright. If Canada fails to adopt policies in accord with the perspective opened at Teheran, prospects for the trade union movement in the post-war years will be dark. A high level of employment, maintenance of wage levels, progressive social legislation and general social progress in the post-war years, depend entirely upon the extent to which Canada adopts policies in accord with the spirit of the Teheran agreement.

Trade Unions Vital in Building National Unity

National prosperity through mutual aid in rebuilding the liberated

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countries and Canadian participation as a sovereign state in a world association of sovereign states is a national aim. It can be achieved only if all democratic forces in the country are united in support of it. The trade union movement can play a vital role in bringing about such unity of progressive forces. By playing a positive role in the fight for such policies, based on the perspective opened at Teheran, the trade union movement can become a vital force in the maintaining of national unity and prosperity after the war.

Finally, the trade union movement in Canada is faced with an opportunity to help establish labor unity on an international scale. The British trade union council is calling a conference of representatives of all the national trade union centers of the United Nations. The possibilities enhanced in this proposal are almost immeasurable. The importance of the forthcoming conference may be estimated by the C.I.C. announcement that ten of its most outstanding representatives—including its President, Philip Murray, are going to London in June to attend the conference.

The London conference may be the beginning of a new and mighty movement, mobilizing world labor in support of the Teheran agreement and national policies in accord with it. In that case the Conference may lead to the unity of all the trade unions of the United Nations in a great new labor international. Such a development would signalize and symbolize labor's participation in the rebuilding of the world in the spirit of the Teheran agreement. The trade union movement in Canada cannot stand aside from this historic development. Its leadership should be urged to guide the activities of the movement toward the struggle for national unity in support of progressive policies at home and international unity in support of the Teheran agreement on a world scale as Canadian labor's contribution to the building of a new world.

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HISTORIC DOCUMENTS

SECRETARY OF STATE CORDELL HULL'S STATEMENT ON UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY (WITH ACCOMPANYING STATEMENT BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT)

SECRETARY of State Cordell Hull on March 21 informed press and radio correspondents that after returning from his recent trip to Florida he had noted a growing interest in the foreign policy of the United States and an increasing number of requests for information about various points in our foreign policy. He said that he was glad of this increased interest. The Secretary said that in addition to many statements and declarations by the President, he had himself made a number of basic statements on foreign policy during the past two years. He thought it would be a convenience and help to the public generally if there could be compiled a brief memorandum of a number of them. Accordingly, the following had been prepared:

Bases of the Foreign Policy of the United States

Our Fundamental National Interests—In determining our foreign policy we must first see clearly what our true national interests are. At the present time, the paramount aim of our foreign policy is to defeat our enemies as quickly as possible. Beyond final victory, our fundamental national interests are the assuring of our national security and the fostering of the economic and social well-being of our people.

International Cooperation—Cooperation between nations in the spirit of good neighbors, founded on the principles of liberty, equality, justice, morality, and law, is the most effective method of safeguarding and promoting the political, the economic, the social, and the cultural well-being of our nation and of all nations.

International Organization Backed by Force—Some international agency must be created which can—by force, if necessary—keep the peace among nations in the future. A system of organized international cooperation for the maintenance of peace must be based upon the willingness of the cooperating nations to use force, if necessary, to keep the peace. There must be certainty that adequate and appropriate means are available and will be used for this purpose.

Political Differences—Political differences which present a threat to the peace of the world should be submitted to agencies which would

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use the remedies of discussion, negotiation, conciliation, and good offices.

International Court of Justice—Disputes of a legal character which present a threat to the peace of the world should be adjudicated by an international court of justice whose decisions would be based upon application of principles of law.

Reduction of Arms—International cooperative action must include eventual adjustment of national armaments in such a manner that the rule of law cannot be successfully challenged that the burden of armaments may be reduced to a minimum.

Moscow Four-Nation Declaration—Through this declaration, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States, and China have laid the foundation for cooperative effort in the post-war world toward enabling all peace-loving nations, large and small, to live in peace and security, to preserve the liberties and rights of civilized existence, and to enjoy expanded opportunities and facilities for economic, social, and spiritual progress.

Spheres of Influence and Alliances—As the provisions of the four-nation declaration are carried into effect, there will no longer be need for spheres of influence, for alliances, for balance of power, or any other of the special arrangements through which, in the unhappy past, the nations strove to safeguard their security or to promote their interests.

Surveillance Over Aggressor Nations—In the process of re-establishing international order, the United Nations must exercise surveillance over aggressor nations until such time as the latter demonstrate their willingness and ability to live at peace with other nations. How long such surveillance will need to continue must depend upon the rapidity with which the peoples of Germany, Japan, Italy and their satellites give convincing proof that they have repudiated and abandoned the monstrous philosophy of superior race and conquest by force and have embraced loyally the basic principles of peaceful processes.

International Trade Barriers—Excessive trade barriers of the many different kinds must be reduced, and practices which impose injuries on others and divert trade from its natural economic course must be avoided.

International Finance — Equally plain is the need for making national currencies once more freely exchangeable for each other at stable rates of exchange; for a system of financial relations so devised that materials can be produced and ways may be found of moving them where there are markets created by human need; for machinery through which capital may—for the development of the world's resources and for the stabilization of economic activity—move on equitable terms from financially stronger to financially weaker countries.

Atlantic Charter: Reciprocal Obligations—The pledge of the Atlantic Charter is of a system which will give every nation, large or small, a greater assurance of stable peace, greater opportunity for the realization of its aspirations to freedom, and greater facilities for material

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advancement. But that pledge implies an obligation for each nation to demonstrate its capacity for stable and progressive government, to fulfill scrupulously its established duties to other nations, to settle its international differences and disputes by none but peaceful methods, and to make its full contribution to the maintenance of enduring peace.

Sovereign Equality of Nations—Each sovereign nation, large or small, is in law and under law the equal of every other nation. The principle of sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, irrespective of size and strength, as partners in a future system of general security will be the foundation stone upon which the future international organization will be constructed.

Form of Government—Each nation should be free to decide for itself the forms and details of its governmental organization so long as it conducts its affairs in such a way as not to menace the peace and security of other nations.

Non-Intervention — All nations, large and small, which respect the right of others are entitled to freedom from outside interference in their internal affairs.

Liberty—There is no surer way for men and for nations to show themselves worthy of liberty than to fight for its preservation, in any way that is open to them, against those who would destroy it for all. Never did a plainer duty to fight against its foes devolve upon all peoples who prize liberty and all who aspire to it. All peoples who, with "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind," have qualified themselves to assume and to discharge the responsibilities of liberty are entitled to its enjoyment.

Dependent Peoples—There rests upon the independent nations a responsibility in relation to dependent peoples who aspire to liberty. It should be the duty of nations having political ties with such peoples to develop materially and educationally; to prepare themselves for the duties and responsibilities of self-government, and to attain liberty. An excellent example of what can be achieved is afforded in the record of our relationship with the Philippines.

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